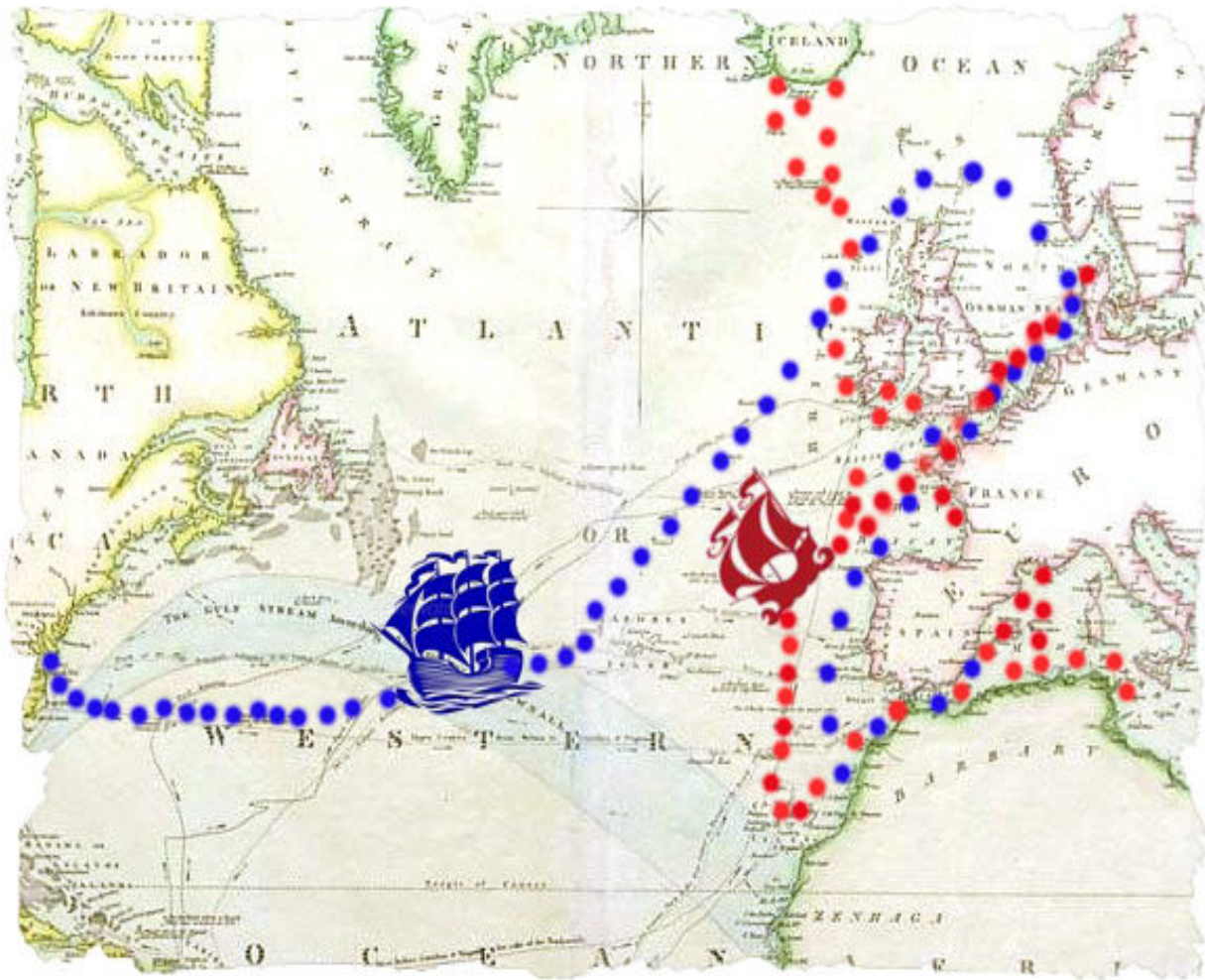


The Most Remarkable Lives of
JAN JANSEN and his son **ANTHONY**



(or) Does 577 microliters* of my **blood** speak Dutch?

** see reverse*

***577 microliters is based on the following:**

Three Assumptions: (*see Comments on Assumptions, below*)

1. I am included in the population of “average adult males”;
2. The possibility that JAN JANSEN is a direct ancestor of ours through more than one of his children exists but is, herein, ignored. This is not as rare as you may think; I have already found two ancestral couples that we descend from through two of their children; and
3. Each ancestor in a particular generation contributes a fractional amount to our genetic make-up, i.e. “blood” equal to the total number of ancestors in that generation, thus:
 - a. Mom and Dad each contribute exactly 50% to our DNA – 2 people in that generation contribute exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the DNA we have; and
 - b. Each of our 4 grandparents contributes exactly $\frac{1}{4}$, or 25%, of the DNA we have; and so on...

Two Numbers:

1. The “average adult male” contains 160 fluid ounces of blood; (and)
2. Jan Jansen is one of our 8,192 11^{th} -great-grandparents therefore he contributes $\frac{1}{8192}$ to our genetic make-up.

& Three Calculations:

1. $\frac{1}{8192}$ of 160 fluid ounces = 0.0195 fluid ounces;
2. 0.0195 fluid ounces = 0.576684 milliliters; and finally,
3. $0.576684 \approx \underline{\underline{577 \text{ microliters}}}$.

Comments on Assumptions:

1. *Since it is a given that I am better than average, there may be some adjustment to the amount of blood I actually have; unfortunately whether this adjustment is up or down has not been, to my vast knowledge, adequately explored;*
2. *While there are several instances of mental “uniqueness” in our direct ancestors there appears to be no connection to related ancestors who married each other, perhaps the fact the closest of the two relations that married were third-cousins-twice-removed may be why this is so;*
3. *Ties in with 2 above – the calculation of percent contributed is complex when one is an ancestor through two children, e.g. our 5^{th} -great-grandfather WILLIAM THOMAS contributes $\frac{1}{128}$ to our genetic make-up through his 4^{th} daughter ELIZABETH. He also contributes $\frac{1}{256}$ to our genetic make-up because he is our 6^{th} -great-grandfather through his oldest daughter MARGARET. Are these amounts simply added together or is there some as-yet-unknown factor by which each contribution is reduced because of genetic duplication? With a suitably large Federal Research grant I am sure to be able to supply a suitably vague answer after researching this very topic for, say, 5 years, to warrant an even more suitable and larger Federal Research grant to clear up some, but not all, of the vagueness found in the first project. A “Final” Federal Grant, suitably enlarged, would probably allow me to arrive at the conclusion that “Yes, the amounts are simply added together” but it’ll take about 2 decades and \$15 million to reach that conclusion.*

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to my mother who, unwittingly I am sure, added the exciting Jansen genes to our DNA. Though of Dutch stock, not a people particularly known for being boisterous or taking risks, the two Jansen family members chronicled here are beyond being a couple of “wild and crazy guys” – they were risk takers. They were dare devils; they were opinionated; no task was too daunting to stop them; they stood out in any crowd – due to their height in once case and, in the other, due to his dress – exquisite, multi-colored and silk – and his mode of transportation – carried by slaves in a gilt traveling chair; and so much more.



The second Jansen generation we can, perhaps, attribute some of his more notable qualities – he was reported to be well over 6’ tall and strong as an ox – to his own mixed bag of genes. Definitely Dutch from his father, his mother was a Berber – from one of the tribes that originally inhabited the Barbary Coast – but we do not know if she was a mutt. Many Berbers in North Africa had intermarried with the Arabs who had arrived around the 11th century – that’s a possibility. She had moved from the Barbary Coast to Cartagena in the Kingdom of Murcia – now the Mediterranean Coast of Spain, but we don’t know how many generations of Berber ancestors lived on the north side of the Mediterranean. In fact two Berber dynasties ruled most of Spain from 1062 to 1269 – her family may have been there for 4 centuries – we just do not know.



ALBERTA JEAN MATELENA
FEBRUARY 4, 1929 – DECEMBER 6, 1971

Another reason for dedicating this work to my mother is because, if it weren’t for her, I may have known more about my ancestors and been thoroughly bored by them. As it turns out, at Kisthardt Elementary School one homework assignment was to bring in a 2 page paper discussing your ancestry. Sounds easy, doesn’t it? Asking Dad about his family brought the incorrect “they were from Budapest and one of them invented a purple dye used by the Hungarian Royal family” – guess he got that one from the same place he got the one about the man who invented a salt-making machine but lost it when it fell overboard – and that’s why the ocean is salty. Mom’s response was even less informative – “They were all farmers – one came from County Cork (*wrong*) and Grandpop came from Naples (*also wrong*) that’s it, nothing else...and stop bothering me, I’m trying to cook dinner.” Dad had trouble just naming his grandparents; at least Mom could go back 2 or 3 generations. The not-knowing gnawed at me for a couple of decades, until 1985 to be precise – that’s when I found the Southern California Genealogical Society in Burbank and from that day I have been digging up dead ancestors.

Thanks Mom!

CONTENTS	PAGE
<i>Dedication</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Contents</i>	<i>ii</i>
INTRODUCTION	1
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS	3
A BRIEF HISTORY OF SEVERAL OTHER COOL PLACES	9
<i>Map of Morocco & the Barbary States, with Spain and Spanish holdings of Malta, Sicily & the Canaries</i>	<i>16</i>
JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM	17
ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALÉE	67
<u>APPENDICES</u>	
1: <i>ELIZABETH AND JOHN – a love story or a load of #!@*?</i>	<i>124</i>
2: <i>Negotiating with the OTTOMAN EMPIRE, an oxymoron?</i>	<i>125</i>
3: <i>THE DUTCH-ALGERIAN WAR OF 1618</i>	<i>136</i>
4: <i>TURK'S PLANTATION</i>	<i>139</i>

Gate of JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM'S *kasbah* (built 1634) in Oualida, Morocco

INTRODUCTION

This book details our Dutch ancestry – well – sort of. Our ancestor JAN JANSEN was from Haarlem on the Atlantic Coast of the Netherlands. Before the age of 30 he left the area to embark on one of the most interesting and varied life that took him far and wide – sailing the high seas for about 3 decades and launching escapades that gained him notoriety and respect (in some circles) and opened doors into the monarchies of Europe – Kings and Queens knew him by name – while other escapades earned him scorn and derision, but made him a very wealthy man. He was given one of the daughter's of the Sultan of Morocco as a gift! Somewhat belatedly, the Netherlands' has taken him as a home-grown hero – commissioning a national opera on his life a few ago is just one of the accolades this notorious pirate, admiral of the much-feared *Salley Rovers* from Morocco has garnered of late.

Because of JAN'S Dutch beginnings, a short history of the Netherlands sets the stage for this book. When JAN was born "the Netherlands" was barely a passing thought – it was only the northern part of the *Seventeen United Provinces* of the growing Spanish Empire. By the time he died the Netherlands had gained their independence and international recognition and were well on the fast-track to becoming the world's first, and wealthiest, multinational corporation. Following the Dutch section is another "Brief history of ..." section. This section covers other places we are familiar with, sometimes rather vaguely, that played a part in the lives of our subjects. While much historical material is found within the biographical sections, this section provides the reader with a concise, self-contained overview of some areas our ancestors were connected to. These places may be (1a) places that *are not* covered in detail in the biographical sections or, oddly, (1b) places that *are* discussed in detail, perhaps too much detail; and are (2) presented in a chronological order, as far as it is known. The reader can easily flip to this section to find out various unimportant things like the highest mountain peak in Spain lies about 100 miles off the coast of Morocco in the Atlantic Ocean *and* various important things like if you traveled from Amsterdam to the Canary Islands and then on to Cartagena, Spain in the late 16th century, besides being extremely old, you had yet to set foot out of the Spanish Empire (this would still hold if you stopped in Miami on your way to Sao Paola, Brazil and then spent a week in the Philippine Islands before returning to Amsterdam). Morocco is covered in greater detail because I amassed more information about it when compared to the other places and I didn't want to waste my work in gathering that information – plus this was where the coolest action takes place.

JAN JANSEN meant different things to different people and even different things to the same people at different times – to the Spanish HABSBURGS he was a no-good rebel; to the Dutch he was a freedom fighter; to the KNIGHTS OF MALTA he was a pirate and prisoner; to the SULTANS OF MOROCCO and the PASHAS OF ALGIERS – he was their 'go to' man – he is said to have chatted with England's QUEEN ELIZABETH (*unlikely*) and KING LOUIS (*likely*) of France on their behalf. His leadership qualities and extensive seafaring skills suited him for a life that was much more expansive than the merchant, probably dealing in linens, from Haarlem he started out as – he took his good points and worked them into an unbelievable life.

Our second subject enters the scene here as he was a part of the Dutch multinational corporation. ANTHONY, son of JAN JANSEN, was born in Spain, raised in Morocco, spent a

year or two in Amsterdam and then became one of the first 400 residents of what would become the Borough of Manhattan. New Amsterdam was one of the subsidiaries of the Dutch multinational corporation – and not a very important one, yet. Like his father, ANTHONY was revered and reviled. He was, if not the first, close to being the first person to be *banished* from New York – or rather its predecessor of New Amsterdam. His wife GRIETJE is referred to as the first European prostitute to set foot in the New World, a dubious, and doubtful, statement. The history of New Amsterdam is found within ANTHONY'S section as the two are so intimately tied together a separate history section could only repeat that which is found in ANTHONY'S biography. In a rather strange sort of kismet our story begins in *Haarlem*, not NY but Holland, and winds up in the *Nieuw* city of *Utrecht*, next to *Breuckelen* (Brooklyn), named after *Breuckelen* in the Province of *Utrecht*!

The explosion of information available to all via the internet is accompanied by a similar explosion in misinformation. It is up to the consumer of information obtained through this medium to decide what is and what is not true. In my mind it is not only my choice but my responsibility to relate factual information and not merely repeat the mistakes of others. If more people adopted this attitude, the information obtained via the internet would be much closer to being historically correct. One small example should suffice to explain my legitimate gripe: JAN JANSEN was appointed governor of the Moroccan town of Oualida. At some point in the past a writer stated that this appointment was made by the Moroccan SULTAN ZIDAN. As interest in our subject has increased so has the amount of information posted on the internet; many people just copy the work of others, usually without giving proper credit. Perhaps they believe that if something is found on the internet it has to be true, or, just slightly less stupid, they are plain lazy. I looked at this appointment with a critical eye and found out that Oualida did not exist in ZIDAN'S lifetime. Ergo, ZIDAN never made that appointment. Well, at least I can say that I am smarter than many people on this topic, as are you, but I have yet to come up with any great way to counter the ever-growing dissemination of misinformation – suggestions will be gratefully accepted. I am not infallible (despite what you may believe) and actually did post some wrong information about a different ancestor – once I found my mistake I made immediate corrections. Much to my chagrin, I continue to stumble across many who have simply appropriated my work and presented it as their own original research with the mistake intact, 15 years later. If people would only give credit where it is due, other readers would be pointed back to my original posting and find out about my mistake and, hopefully, the error would just go away.

Research into this most interesting branch of our family tree is ongoing – for instance – the section cover for ANTHONY is a picture of the tavern where he met his wife GRIETJE in 1628; it was restored to its 1628 appearance through a conservation project in the 1970s!

Once again, I certainly hope you enjoy learning about our genetic predecessors and see what colorful stock we come from!

KEY

- POLITICAL FRONTIER
- PROVINCIAL FRONTIER
- LINGUISTIC BOUNDARY
- NON-HAPSBURG TERRITORY

DUTCH SPEAKING PROVINCES

- 1, FLANDERS
- 2, BRABANT
- 3, MECHLIN
- 4, LIMBURG
- 5, ZEALAND
- 6, HOLLAND
- 7, UTRECHT
- 8, GELDERLAND
- 9, OVERYSEL
- 10, DRENTE
- 11, FRIESLAND
- 12, GRONINGEN

WALLOON PROVINCES

- I, ARTOIS
- II, WALLOON FLANDERS
- III, CAMBRAI
- IV, TOURNIAI
- V, HAINAUT
- VI, NAMUR
- VII, LUXEMBURG

TOWNS OUTSIDE HAPSBURG TERRITORY

LIÈGE, ST. TRUIDEN (BISHOPRIC OF LIÈGE), KÖLN (ARCHBISHOPRIC ELECTORATE) CLEVE, WESEL, EMMERIK (DUCHY OF CLEVE), EMDEN (COUNTY OF EAST FRIESLAND)

The map shows the Low Countries with various towns and regions labeled. The Dutch-speaking provinces are numbered 1 through 12. The Walloon provinces are numbered I through VII. Towns outside Habsburg territory are labeled with Roman numerals I through VII. The map also shows the political, provincial, and linguistic boundaries, and the non-Habsburg territories.

MAP I THE NETHERLANDS IN 1555

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

HAARLEM

The town of Haarlem is located in Holland, one of the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands; the others are: Zeeland (Zealand), Utrecht, Friesland (Friesland), Groningen, Overijssel (Overijssel), and Guelderland (Gelderland). The two most influential of these seven were the centrally-located Holland and Utrecht. Holland, to the north of Utrecht, extended westward to the Atlantic; the province formed a union with that of Zeeland which extended south of Holland along the coast to the border with Flanders (Belgium). The whole of the Atlantic coast was thereby ruled by the COUNTS OF HOLLAND. The PRINCE-BISHOP OF UTRECHT controlled not only Utrecht, but also the province of Overijssel, directly east of Holland and the northeastern province of Groningen; these three formed a huge entity beginning south of Amsterdam which arced to the east and north forming much of the border with Germany. Friesland, in the extreme northwest, included several North Sea islands including the much-disputed Texel, was ruled by its independent *PODESTATE* though both the COUNTS OF HOLLAND and the BISHOPS OF UTRECHT sought, vainly, that territory until 1526 when Holland triumphed. The Duchy of Guelderland formed the southeastern border with Germany and was a feudatory to the Holy Roman Empire, ruled in conjunction with Zutphen by the DUKES OF ZUTPHEN AND GUELDERLAND.

Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland were united with the Duchy of Burgundy in 1436 as a consequence of marriages, deaths without heirs and other factors occurring in the preceding decades. PHILIP, DUKE OF BURGUNDY, was also COUNT OF FLANDERS (Belgium) and DUKE OF BRABANT (the area of North Brabant is the south-central part of the Netherlands while Brabant is just over the border in Belgium) as well as the ruler of Limburg which is the southeastern part of the Netherlands, thus becoming the richest court, located in the main at Brussels, in all of Europe. More of the Brabant area was included the Netherlands in the 15th and 16th centuries as the cities of Brussels and Antwerp, now firmly in Belgium, were considered to be in the Netherlands five hundred years ago. The Netherlands, as an identifiable geopolitical entity did not exist much before the middle of the 16th century. The first sense of commonality probably started with the founding of the Order of the Golden Fleece which, until the middle of the century, was limited to nobles of the 17 Provinces. The seventeen provinces comprise three separate countries today: The Netherlands rose from the northern seven; Belgium grew out of 6.5 of the 9 contiguous southern provinces and was known as the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium is the Latin equivalent of the German Netherlands) while the remaining 2.5 were absorbed by France; the last, and only isolated province, became Luxembourg.

Each province had their own government with laws specific to that province only; many often fought their neighbors for more territory and negotiated with the Imperial and/or Spanish crown to secure trading and tax advantages to the detriment of other provinces. Fighting within the borders of a province was also common. For example, in 1492 the city of Haarlem, then under the sway of the military command of the German Duke of Saxony and probable home to our JANSEN ancestors, was attacked by Dutch insurgents from northern Holland. The German troops in the citadel and under the command of DUKE ALBERT suppressed the insurgent uprising.

THE RISE OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE

Now of seemingly little consequence, it must be remembered that Antwerp was the capital city of commerce, not only in the Netherlands, but in all of Europe! In 1473 the Duchy of Guelderland was nominally added to the lands of Burgundy, thus bringing the whole of the Netherlands under one ruler if not in fact, then in thought. PHILIP (1478 – 1506, PHILIP IV, DUKE OF BURGUNDY; PHILIP II, COUNT OF HOLLAND) inherited the Burgundian titles upon the death of his mother, MARY, DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY from 1477 to 1482. Rule was actually through a regent as he was just 4 years old until 1494 when he assumed control. In that year he marries JOANNA (1478 – 1555), daughter of FERDINAND and ISABELLA, the “Catholic Monarchs” of Spain. The allegedly unstable JOANNA ascends the throne of Castile upon ISABELLA’s death in 1501 under the regency of her father FERDINAND. PHILIP imprisons his wife during his life saying that she is mentally unstable but evidence seems to indicate otherwise. After sidelining his wife he goes after her father FERDINAND and becomes PHILIP I, KING OF CASTILE in 1505, thus uniting the Netherlands with the growing Spanish Empire. He died less than a year later but the union of the Burgundian lands to Castile, and later Spain, continued for the better part of the 16th century. The following year their six-year-old son CHARLES becomes KING OF CASTILE and ruler of the Netherlands (as the DUKE OF BURGUNDY) as PHILIP died and, continuing his father’s lie, kept his mother JOANNA imprisoned for the rest of her life – another 50 years. CHARLES assumes government in the Netherlands in 1515, at fifteen years of age; he is crowned CHARLES I, KING OF SPAIN upon the death of FERDINAND in the following year. CHARLES then becomes the fifth Holy Roman Emperor with that name before 1550. In 1550 the Provinces agreed to the 1549 Pragmatic Sanction of the EMPEROR that created Netherlands, which were his as DUKE OF BURGUNDY, as a separate country and, as such, would be under the rule of one person. At first rule of the Netherlands was found in the person of CHARLES’ sister MARY as GOVERNESS-GENERAL. It was around this same time that there were several edicts promulgated by CHARLES, acting in his capacity of DUKE OF BURGUNDY, which were in direct opposition to the religious liberties enjoyed by several of the Provinces and, which were by the very terms of those same treaties granting such liberties, unenforceable and illegal in the Provinces – the DUKE had overstepped his authority and thus began the long road to independence for the Netherlands.

In 1555, as EMPEROR CHARLES V, he split his dominions into an eastern part, the Austrian lands which he gave to his brother FERDINAND; and a western part, the Spanish lands that went to his son FELIPE. He waited until his mother JOANNA, still in prison after 50 years, dies to split his lands as he wished to avoid any possible challenges and she was the rightful holder of all his titles. The Spanish lands included the seventeen provinces, plus Milan, the Kingdom of Naples, the Central and South American colonies, the Caribbean holdings, Florida and, eventually, California and the Philippines. In 1556 CHARLES abdicated from all his titles, the two most important being King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor. His sister MARY, GOVERNESS-GENERAL of the Netherlands, stepped down and was replaced by his son FELIPE II (1527 – 1598) who became both KING OF SPAIN and the DUKE OF BURGUNDY who ruled the Netherlands. The position of Holy Roman Emperor went with the Austrian lands to his brother FERDINAND.

The individual provinces were driven into each others arms by the levying of a 10% tax on all items bought - not only the leading families but all classes rose in unison (almost) in protest of this violation of the laws under which FELIPE II was constrained. He needed the money to fund his unending wars with France and to pay-off the debt bequeathed to him by his father - neither of which was brought on by the Netherlanders.

HERRING AND DIKES

As odd as it sounds to us, the strength of Holland was founded, in great part, upon the herring industry. This fish, properly dried, provided for the protein requirements not only of the civilian population but, more importantly, of the sailing population. Without such a source of protein, the long voyages would be impossible and Holland's historical rise to power would have been severely pre-empted. The majority of the Netherlands is actually below sea level and the land is only there due to feats of engineering that hold back the sea. The inhabitable lands, as well as those subject to cultivation, were greatly increased, both in size and security, in the middle of the 15th century when a new type of construction for dikes was developed. Hitherto they were formed by reeds and sea-weed but, beginning at this time, became constructed of long, heavy beams attached to cross-beams by iron bolts, the whole of which was fronted by earthen front-works.¹ Piracy and privateering was commonplace between Scotland, England, France, Flanders, the Hanseatic League, Denmark, Sweden, Spain and all other maritime powers with innumerable treaties and truces failing to address adequately this troublesome, and lucrative, profession. Haarlem, situated on the Atlantic coast, was a maritime town and had its share of men engaged in both the quasi-legal and illegal facets of thievery, which, to an economy dependent on the herring fisheries, could, and often did, have devastating effects.

Life in mid-16th century Holland should give us pause, for their treatment of the ills of society five centuries ago was far in advance of ours now. Women were treated not only with respect but as equals – they freely traveled without fear of molestation and many assumed full control of the business enterprises of their husbands; many had their own successful businesses at all strata of society. Hospitals were plenty and care was available to all without regard to their ability to pay; as one grew older, payment would be made to an institution for which in return that person had lodging and meals for the remainder of their life. Begging, besides being illegal, was non-existent as all were provided for out of the yearly collections of church alms and revenues generated by places of resort; the sick, maimed and elderly made up the whole of the “poor” as all others were productive and their services required which allowed a level of living rivaled in no other place on the planet (then and now); children of the poor were brought up under state care and most learned a trade as an apprentice and became a productive member of society. The Netherlands under FELIPE II would undergo so dramatic a change that by the time JAN was born in 1570, it would be difficult to see that this was the same Haarlem of just fifteen years earlier; PHILIP would thoroughly trash the Dutch society well before the end of the century.

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

Where CHARLES had favored his Netherlanders, his son FELIPE II favored his Spanish. No less than 50,000 Netherlanders, both Catholic and Protestant, perished under the auspices of the Dutch Inquisition. By 1559 the strongest fortresses in the country were garrisoned by 12,000 Spanish troops. WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE of the German noble HOUSE OF NASSAU had served CHARLES well and was well liked by his fellow Dutchmen; PHILIP was abundantly clear in his dislike of the PRINCE; FELIPE II gave him a military command and appointed him to the impotent Council of State that oversaw matters of peace and war; he was appointed *stadtholder* of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht in 1559. In 1560 FELIPE II was successful in his bid to create fourteen new bishoprics in the Netherlands which served to dilute the power and authority of those already established, many of whom were subscribers to Calvinism or to the Reformed Religion of the Augsburg Convention (Lutherans), all an anathema to the KING; only a few actually occupied their seat with the majority fearful of the very real death threats received from

the citizens. Justice through the courts became unobtainable as all convictions had to have the approval of FELIPE's men. The Assembly of the States-General officially created in 1550 but, in reality, an extension of a similar, yet informal, group, was actively suppressed. FELIPE II sent ALVAREZ DI TOLEDO, DUKE OF ALVA at the head of a large Spanish, German and Italian force to quash the heretics and disaffected Dutch nobility causing thousands to flee to Germany, England and Denmark; ALVA arrived in August 1567 with 19,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry. By the end of that year the whole of the government had been toppled, replaced with ALVA's military regime which came to be called the *Council of Blood*. Every Netherlander was guilty of one offense or another and all were liable to be slaughtered, as a great many were: "the trees by the wayside were loaded with corpses; and bodies fastened to the stakes, burnt, mangled, and headless, met the eye in every direction."² In 1568 the Prince of Orange, having fled to Nassau and being removed as *stadtholder*, returned at the head of a large German army and thus the Dutch war for independence commenced. He also commissioned privateers to take all Spanish ships; unfortunately the *Water-Gueux* weren't quite so selective, taking ships of all nations, including the Netherlands, as prizes. The first Dutch victory came unexpectedly, both in time and place. The privateer fleet, failing to find a home port, sailed to the Texel and was subsequently forced by inclement weather into the Meuse where they put ashore at the town of Briel which they promptly commandeered on 1 April 1572. Full with victory, the States-General reappointed William of Orange as *stadtholder*; never mind they held no authority to do so. The following year a truce was reached between the States-General and FELIPE II. FELIPE appointed ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF PARMA as GOVERNOR-GENERAL in 1579 which led directly to the seven Northern provinces to declare their independence in 1581. The Seven United Provinces hunted around for a ruler in vain – Anjou failed, France refused as did England, but the latter did agree to make them a protectorate in 1585; William of Orange was assassinated in 1584 – until they took the unprecedented step of becoming the Republic of the United Provinces in 1588 and co-opted the office of *stadtholder*, the *de-facto* Head-of-State.

Of course FELIPE II did not recognize their independence and PARMA remained the GOVERNOR-GENERAL. After 1583 the States General of the North Netherlands issued many letters of marque in response to those issued at Dunkirk under the Spanish governor PARMA. It was only in 1590 that Holland merchantmen sailed into the Mediterranean and, after that, many of the Dutch privateers joined the Barbary pirates.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands bid for independence is often portrayed as a religious conflict: Spanish Catholics against Dutch Protestants. While this may be true to an extent, it really only describes a coincidental happenstance. It was a battle between the feudal Habsburg government and the republican burgher government of the county of Holland. That it took on religious overtones was, in a great part, due to the need to enlist the aid of the "common people." These people were more likely to identify with, and come to support, one side over another in a battle between religions which are easy to identify, versus one pitting one form of government against another, a nebulous concept at the best of times, and one that would garner little support in the working and peasant classes, the "common people." A second commonality was that the republican sentiment of the burghers was more closely echoed by Calvinist doctrine than Roman Catholicism which made the Protestant religion an obvious choice of the burghers. Independence required the overthrow of not only the distant Spanish, Catholic Habsburg monarchy but also the established Catholic aristocracy found in most Dutch towns.

The running of government in Haarlem had been in the hands of Dutch rebels, the so-called Beggars, until early 1573 when the town was recaptured by the Spanish. A water-based corollary of the Beggars is to be found in the Sea Beggars, rebel captains who played an instrumental part in the overthrow of Habsburg rule. A surviving description from a Catholic monk from Amsterdam a few months after Haarlem's recapture paints a grim, albeit biased, picture. Houses were burned down, churches ransacked, and the land was uncultivated and devoid of any cattle. From just about every possible support, whether a beam, a tree or a gallows, swung a Dutch rebel. One naked corpse on the roadway was so completely dried out by the sun and flattened by carriages that it offered no obstruction to travel at all.

AMSTERDAM

Amsterdam fell to the independence movement in 1578 when the Beggars successfully ousted the whole of the city administration including all the burgomasters and most of the leading Catholic citizens along with many priests and monks. They were literally ousted as all were unceremoniously thrown onto a prison ship that sailed out of the city and landed on a dyke where they disembarked to make a new way for themselves in the world with quite literally only the clothes on their back. The outgoing Catholics were replaced with returning Calvinist exiles, many of whom had fled to North German principalities and established small foreign Dutch enclaves. The first expansion of the city in a century was completed in 1591 with the building of the Herengracht which added 150 meters of new land west of the Singel.

The merchants of Amsterdam relied on commerce which presents us with an interesting dichotomy – a fight for independence that depended on the profits of war. Antwerp, the earlier rival to Amsterdam, had been crushed by the mid 1580s and many of the merchant class moved from the former to the latter. The Eighty Years War, which contains within its confines the Thirty Years War, created unprecedented needs – for all involved. The Dutch Navy destroyed the Spanish one – it had to be rebuilt; armaments of all sorts were required; foodstuffs, uniforms, shoes, tents and all the needs to keep an army in the field and the people at home well fed had to be supplied – by merchants – from Amsterdam. The burghers wanted to throw off Spanish rule with its taxes, levies and tolls which created a huge demands, and huge profits, generated by the sale of war goods to ~~both~~ all sides in the conflict which made these same burghers very wealthy.

FELIPE II died in 1598 and his will declared that rule of the Netherlands, encompassing both the northern seven provinces of the Republic and the Southern or Spanish Netherlands, went to his daughter ISABELLA CLARA EUGENIE and her husband, and his nephew, ARCHDUKE ALBERT VII of Austria, while that of Spain fell to his son FELIPE III.

Just at this time, JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM, not quite 30 years old, made the decision to leave the Netherlands – or perhaps he was kidnapped (as you will read) – either way – his time as a Netherlander was over, only on a couple rare occasions, usually due to some sailing disaster, would he be back in the country of his birth. He financially supported his Dutch family his whole life, as long as they remained in Holland. He was not in the least interested in having his Dutch wife along for the ride he was about to take; she probably wouldn't have wanted to go anyway – he had at least one other wife (polygamy is allowed in Islam) and several children.

¹ C.M. Davies, The History of Holland and the Dutch Nation, volume 1 (G. Willis, London; 1851)

² *Ibid*, p. 553.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SEVERAL OTHER COOL PLACES:

THE **CANARY ISLANDS**: Named after the many colorful small birds found there...oh, wait...those are parakeets --- hmmm --- well, NOT named after parakeets.



ALGIERS: meaning the port city and not the larger country of Algeria.

ISLAMIC IBERIA: basically Spain in the 8th through 11th centuries.

MOROCCO: a corruption of the phrase "Moors on the Rock (of Gibraltar)" (not really).

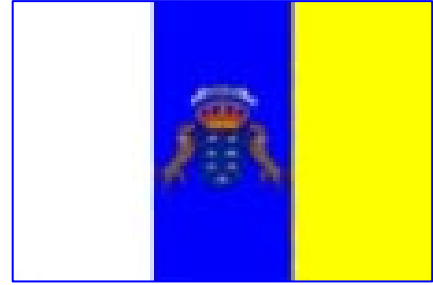
MALTA: a Mediterranean island; residents garnished fame for creating a novelty drink which became known as the Malted Milkshake or "The Malt" (see remark above); later creativity brought Malted Milk Balls into existence (ditto).



CANARY ISLANDS

The Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean are less than a hundred miles off the coast of Morocco. They were the site of the end of our ancestor's life as a Dutch merchant and the beginning of his much more fascinating life as Admiral and pirate in Algiers and Morocco. There is almost no continuity between before and after the

Canary Islands. He changed countries and continents – the Netherlands in Europe to Morocco in Africa; he added another family to that of his Dutch wife and child by marrying a Berber woman in Cartagena and married yet a third time – to an Arabic daughter of the Sultan of Morocco (she was a gift, not a paramour). But this was okay because his new religion of Islam allowed polygamy while his old Protestant one did not.

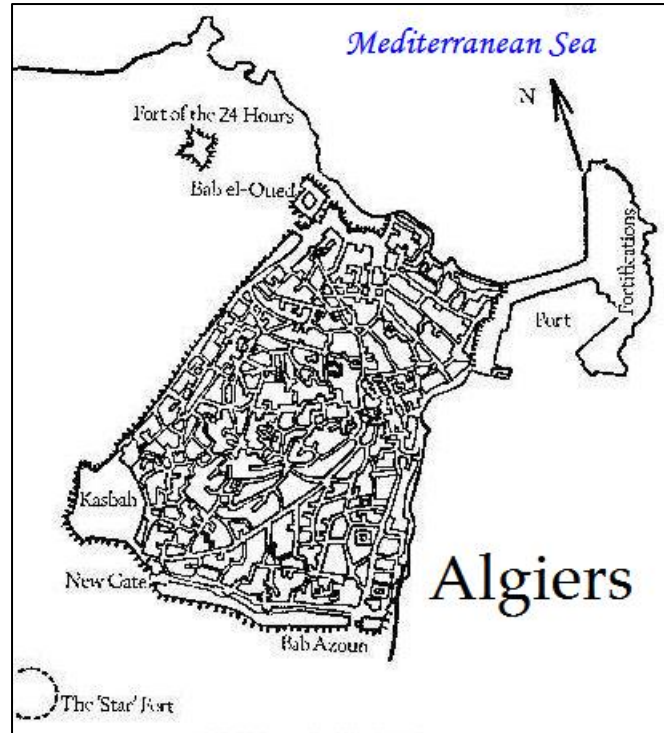


1492 was not just a good year for the Spanish Empire but a great year. The Kingdom of Castile under Queen Isabella had financed an unsuccessful voyage to find a shorter way to the Orient – the New World had gotten in the way of Cristobal Colon. The Catholic Monarchs had succeeded in ridding the Iberian Peninsula of the last vestiges of the 700 year old Islamic Caliphate (which resulted in a 500 year economic depression and made the country into one of the poorest – financially, culturally and in education – of Western Europe) and finally subdued the last of the Canary Islands, a task that took almost a century to complete. The indigenous people may have been of Berber stock, based on vocabulary, but this is always a doubtful conclusion. You would be wrong to conclude the U.S. originated in Germany because all 5 year olds go to kindergarten. Since then, this island group has been a part of Spain proper. In fact, the highest mountain peak of Spain is located here. The Canaries became, by virtue of Columbus' discovery, the first stop for anyone sailing to the New World. The islands quickly became a mandatory stop to restock and get the latest weather reports before heading across the Atlantic. It also served as an ideal merchant exchange. Merchants made it the first stop for the buying and selling of goods – as long as you weren't an enemy of Spain. As part of the Spanish Empire the United Provinces (Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg) the Dutch merchants enjoyed unrestrained access to the port. Since Spain owned the New World, being locked out of the Canaries meant being shut out of the Americas – at least that was the interpretation the Spanish Habsburgs preferred. England and France were the major powers that disagreed with that interpretation.

Spanish rule wasn't completely unchallenged – nearby Morocco had a good claim but Spain had a better military. The English mounted sporadic attacks – always unsuccessful.

REGENCY OF ALGIERS

The Turk and the Spaniard were battling along the Mediterranean coast, each trying to secure the shipping lanes required before their respective Empires could expand during the 16th century. Establishing strategic military bases was integral to realizing that goal and Algiers was ideally sited to be a base of operations against not only Catholic Spain but also Muslim Morocco. The Ottoman subjugation of the region took the better part of the 16th century. The Spaniards had a half-dozen such bases scattered along the Barbary Coast and had fortified islets off some Muslim controlled ports. The city of Algiers was taken in 1525 by the Muslim pirate KHAIR ORUÇ, known as BARBAROSSA in Spain and Italy and RED BEARD in England.



Direct control passed from him to the Ottoman Sultan in 1544 who appointed military governors called *beylerbeys* until 1587 when Algiers, the province, was annexed to the Ottoman Empire and ruled by *Bashaws* or *Pashas* until 1830. The town flourished and had a huge Christian slave market that rivaled the Muslim slave markets of Livorno, Italy and Malta. However the supplier of those slaves was just as likely to be English as Muslim. Protestant England was a long-standing enemy of Catholic Spain and often used Barbary and Moroccan ports as bases of operation. After the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 and the ensuing Anglo-Spaniard peace, thousands of Navy sailors and an even larger number of privateers were out of work and many turned to piracy. The number of Englishmen (and a couple Englishwomen) sailing from foreign ports as renegade pirates increased through the first half of the 17th century; they numbered some 8,000 in the city of Algiers in 1634!

It was here in the city of Algiers that piracy became institutionalized as it was the only source of income for the city. The activity became highly developed, with modes of recruitment, corps hierarchies, peer review, private and public financing, trades and materials support, coordinated operations, and resale and ransom markets. The policies developed in Algiers provided an exemplary model of corsair business (often called the *taife reisi*, or "board of captains" an authoritative council composed of all active corsair captains), a model exported to Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco. Crew members, captains and even suppliers lived in a specific area of town, usually a quarter near the port. Private capital generally supplied the funds for corsair activity. Investors essentially bought shares in a particular corsair business enterprise. Such investors came from all levels of society, e.g., merchants, officials, janissaries, shopkeepers, and artisans. The financing made money available for the capital and expenses of ship and crew, i.e., naval stores and supplies, timbers and canvas, munitions. The state of Algiers came to own many of the corsair vessels and to finance many of their expeditions. Strict rules governed the division of the prizes captured at sea. Cargo, human and otherwise, was often sold back to Europeans living

locally for that very purpose. The first two to be paid were the administrative government, the Regency, who usually got around 10% (of captives & booty) and the old military command that had morphed into port authorities under a Ra'is or captain, who may get a similar percentage if they were strong enough. Real power was often vested in the second group especially in places like Algiers where the only income came from the port. After those two got their cuts the custom brokers and the ship owners were next to be paid. Significantly, the next share paid was for things we are all familiar with – worker's compensation, disability and death benefits. The families of crew members that had been killed, enslaved or imprisoned were paid as were those who had been previously injured and could not work; crew members injured on the current voyage received compensation to offset lost income during their recuperation. The remainder, often 50%, was divided among the captain and crew according to the contracts signed before they ever left port.

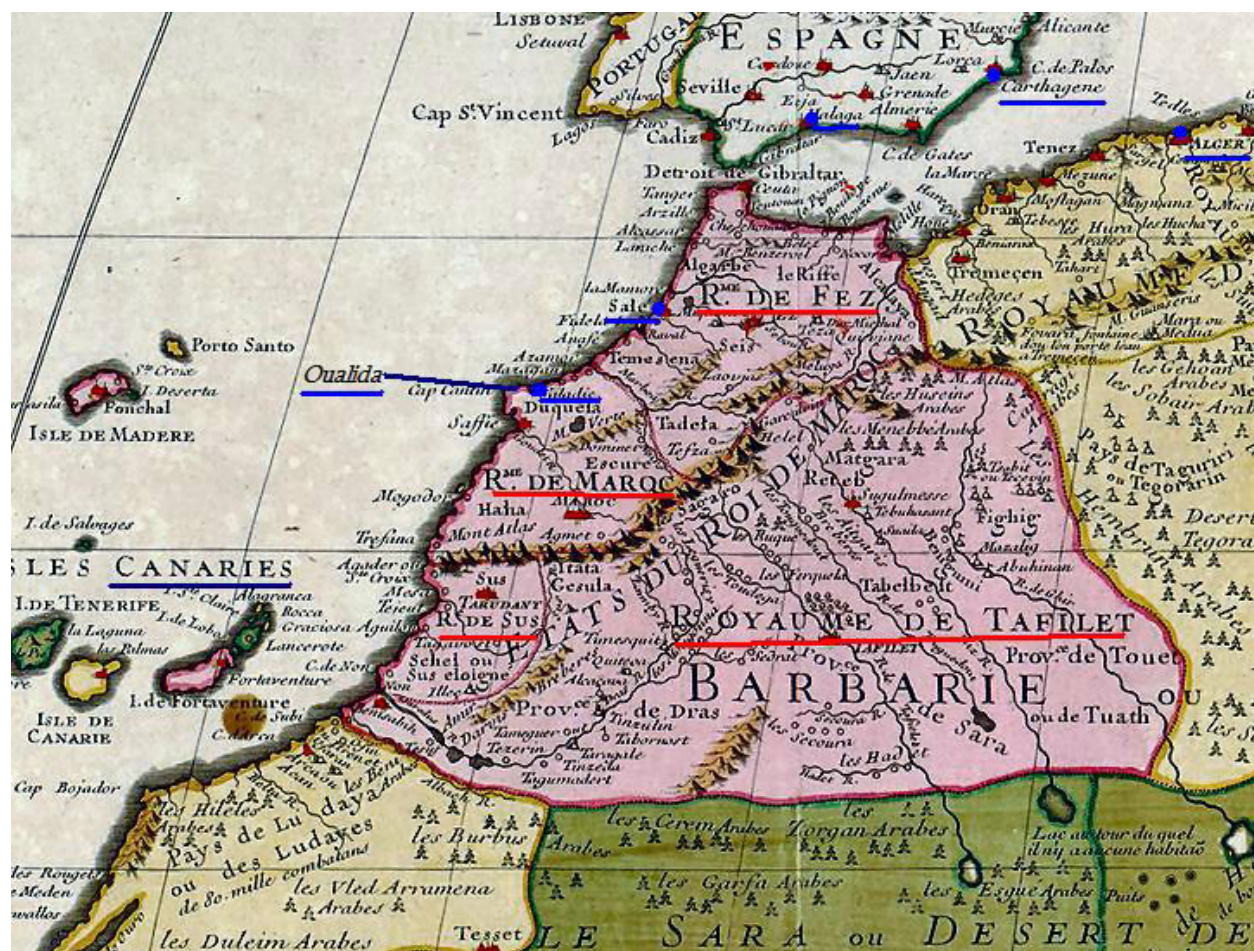
ISLAMIC IBERIA

Included most of Spain and parts of Portugal and France for several centuries; it was ruled by the Emirate, then Caliphate, of Córdoba from 750 to 1031; the Caliphate fractured into many small units called *Taifas* which, despite warring on each other, were able to defeat the invading Catholic armies for the next 2 centuries. In 1236 Córdoba, the largest and richest city in all of Western Europe, fell to the Spanish Catholic armies. Islamic Iberia from that point consisted of the Emirate of Granada on the Costa Tropical (the southern Mediterranean coast) which was well-protected to the north by the Baetic Mountain Range – so well protected in fact that it took another 2 ½ centuries to complete the *Reconquista*. In 1492 Granada fell and the last Islamic Emirate on the Iberian Peninsula was gone. The disenfranchised Muslims were coerced into leaving through punitive measures at first, then forced to leave by law later on. Many who moved to the other side of the Mediterranean decided that Spain owed them a real debt. Privateering, piracy made legal by the government, allowed one to collect this debt and those living on the southern shore of the Mediterranean became known as the *Barbary corsairs*. Plundering Spanish merchants was the only real way to get financial compensation for their stolen property (which was forfeited to the state), stolen valuables (all gold, silver, money & other valuables went to local nobles to compensate their financial “loss” brought on by the expulsion of their productive subjects) and lost businesses (beginning 400 years of stagnation that recently ended).

MOROCCO - EMIRATE, SULTANATE & KINGDOM

The Arabic language and the new religion of Islam spread across North Africa reaching Morocco by 670 CE. Arabic rule from Damascus was fraught with the troubles inherent with long-distance rule but the introduction of Arabic and Islam changed every aspect of life. Rather than continuing the centuries old connection to Europe and the Roman Empire, Morocco and the Barbary States of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli became their opponent. As Arab rule declined in the 10th century it was met with the rise of several powerful Berber Islamic dynasties in the 11th century. These dynasties ruled from their capital city of Fez and planted the seed that became modern Morocco. They controlled all of Morocco and most of Spain and Portugal until the 13th century. At that time the Christian rulers of Europe embarked on a quest to rid Western Europe of the Islamic menace. This task, the *Reconquista*, became reality in 1492 when the last remnant of Islamic Iberia ended with the surrender of the Emirate of Granada, the lone Islamic holdout in

Southern Spain for over 2 ½ centuries. Leading the victory party were FERDINAND, KING OF ARAGON and his wife ISABELLA, QUEEN OF CASTILE.



As shown above, the 1707 Sultanate of Morocco included 4 *Royaumes*: Fez, Maroc, Sus and Tafilet.

Adherents of Islam from Western Europe felt equally at home in Morocco – because they were. As the *Reconquista* gathered momentum the coastal cities of Morocco were flooded with refugees from Spain while the mountainous interior of the country remained Berber. Flush with success Ferdinand and Isabella, who hated everyone that wasn't Catholic, expelled the Jews from their lands in 1492 (seems Columbus had lots of company sailing the seas of blue) and thousands of Jews joined the Muslim flight to Morocco.

The second period of Arabic rule in Morocco started in 1549 with the SA'ADIAN dynasty; they were supplanted in 1659 by the ALAOUITE dynasty from the *Royaume du Tafilet* which continues as Morocco's Royal House today. The period we are concerned with was just after the apogee of the SA'ADIAN dynasty at the end of the 16th century. The Emirate of Morocco was hit with a bubonic plague epidemic in 1596 that continued unabated for over seven years with its most notable victim being the EMIR, AHMAD AL-MANSUR who died in 1603. Typical and expected for the time and the Arabic culture, the Emirate was torn by civil war between three of the EMIR's sons. To the victor went the spoils – unless the brother-competitors were determined, crafty, killers, patient and determined; AL-MANSUR's sons displayed enough of these attributes to herald the start of the decline of the SA'ADIAN dynasty. Apparently ZIDAN EN NASIR consolidated his rule around 1606 but lost the northern capital of Fez to a brother (not sure which one though) in

1611, regaining it only in 1626. His rule included the city of Fez, and little else, but managed to remain so under 3 Emirs:

1610 – 1613: MOHAMMED IV (or) ‘ABD ALLAH AL-SHAikh

1613 – 1624: ABDULLAH II, son of MOHAMMED IV

1624 – 1626: ABD EL MELIK III, son of ABDULLAH II

A second brother, ABU MAHALLI held most of the Marrakesh emirate between 1611 and 1613 though afterwards, Zidan was in control of Marrakesh, Sus, and Fez minus the city until 1626 when the city of Fez was reunited with the Sultanate. The Tifalet fell under ALAOUITE rule and returned that area when the first ALAOUITE SULTAN ascended the throne in 1659. Morocco lost a band of land about 40 miles wide as the border with Algiers moved west only to be regained under the next dynasty.

It was around this time that the Moroccan *Emirate* became the Moroccan *Sultanate*. Military rule characterized the former while being chosen by God or Allah meant the Sultan enjoyed a higher degree of prestige, both at home and abroad. This move by ZIDAN was, in part, a defensive move against the Ottoman Sultan in Constantinople who desired Morocco for his own empire. It was also an offensive move; his rebelling brothers were military Emirs while he was chosen by Allah.

1610 – 1627: ZIDAN EN NASIR *rival:* 1611 – 1613: ABU MAHALLI in Marrakesh

1627 – 1631: ABU MARWAN ABD AL-MALIK II, youngest son of ZIDAN

1631 – 1636: EL-WALID, or AL-WALID, another son of ZIDAN

1636 – 1655: MUHAMMED AL-SHEIKH AL-ASGHAR, a third son of ZIDAN

1655 – 1659: AHMAD AL-‘ABBAS, son of MUHAMMED AL-SHEIKH AL-ASGHAR

ZIDAN EN NASIR ruled until his death in September 1627. The use of the lunar calendar in Morocco created uncertainty around the exact date of ZIDAN’s death but this has been rectified with September 1627 seen as being accurate enough. Typical and expected was the immediate challenge of at least one disenfranchised son: ABUL ABBAS AHMED ordered his own proclamation as Sultan of Fez in 1627 (which flies in the face of the whole “appointed by Allah” claim). By 1631 this dubious Sultanate was gone and it is likely the dubious Sultan was also gone. The 3 sons that followed him as Sultan of Morocco were, in order, AL-MALIK II – cruel and debauched (and assassinated); AL-WALID – assassinated; AL-ASGHAR – powerless; and his grandson, AL-‘ABBAS, the last of the SAÂDIAN dynasty, was weak and assassinated. The Arabic SHABBANA tribe that assassinated the last SAÂDIAN Sultan gave the throne to the first ALAOUITE Sultan – ‘ABD AL-KARIM – in 1659.

A little-known and mildly interesting fact: Morocco was the first foreign government to recognize the United States as a separate nation. On 20 December 1777, SULTAN MOHAMMED III declared that American merchant ships would be under the protection of the sultanate and could thus enjoy safe passage across the Atlantic, but, as the saying goes, actions speak louder than words. Though young, our founding fathers were not naïve; they signed a Treaty of Alliance with France in 1778 that afforded protection to American shipping until the end of the war which came in 1783. A few months after the treaty expired, the American brig *Betsey* was captured by pirates based in Morocco. In 1786 Morocco and the United States signed a 50-year Treaty of Friendship which has been renewed every 50 years since which makes it the oldest non-broken friendship treaty the US has signed. The differences between what the paragraphs of this treaty said and what others *say* they mean is remarkable. It did not end piracy against American ships

by Moroccans or by any other Islamic pirate – the pertinent section, Article 6, freed any Americans captured by pirates *upon docking in a Moroccan port*.

Pet-peeve time: *Barbary* refers to states that have been ruled by Berber tribes at some point in time and is usually limited to states with a Mediterranean coastline. The **Barbary States** are (1) *Barbary* as defined and (2) part of the *Ottoman Empire*. They have numbered **3**, no more and no less, since the 16th century. The 3 were the *Eyalets of Tripolitania* and *Tunis* and the *Regency of Algiers*. The **Barbary Coast** is the southern shore of the Mediterranean between Egypt and the Atlantic. There are **4** states on that coast: the 3 Barbary States plus Morocco. The **Barbary Wars** of the early 19th century were between the United States and the *Barbary States*. By definition, the Barbary Wars did not involve Morocco and contrary to what Time Magazine published (CHRISTOPHER HIGGINS, *To The Shores of Tripoli*, 5 June 2004) the U.S. did not bombard Moroccan ports. (Is it really too much to ask that journalists and reporters actually know what they are writing about?) Incidentally, that article refers to some of our ancestors exploits without mentioning him by name. Even more appalling is the posting of this article on the Marine Corps own website!

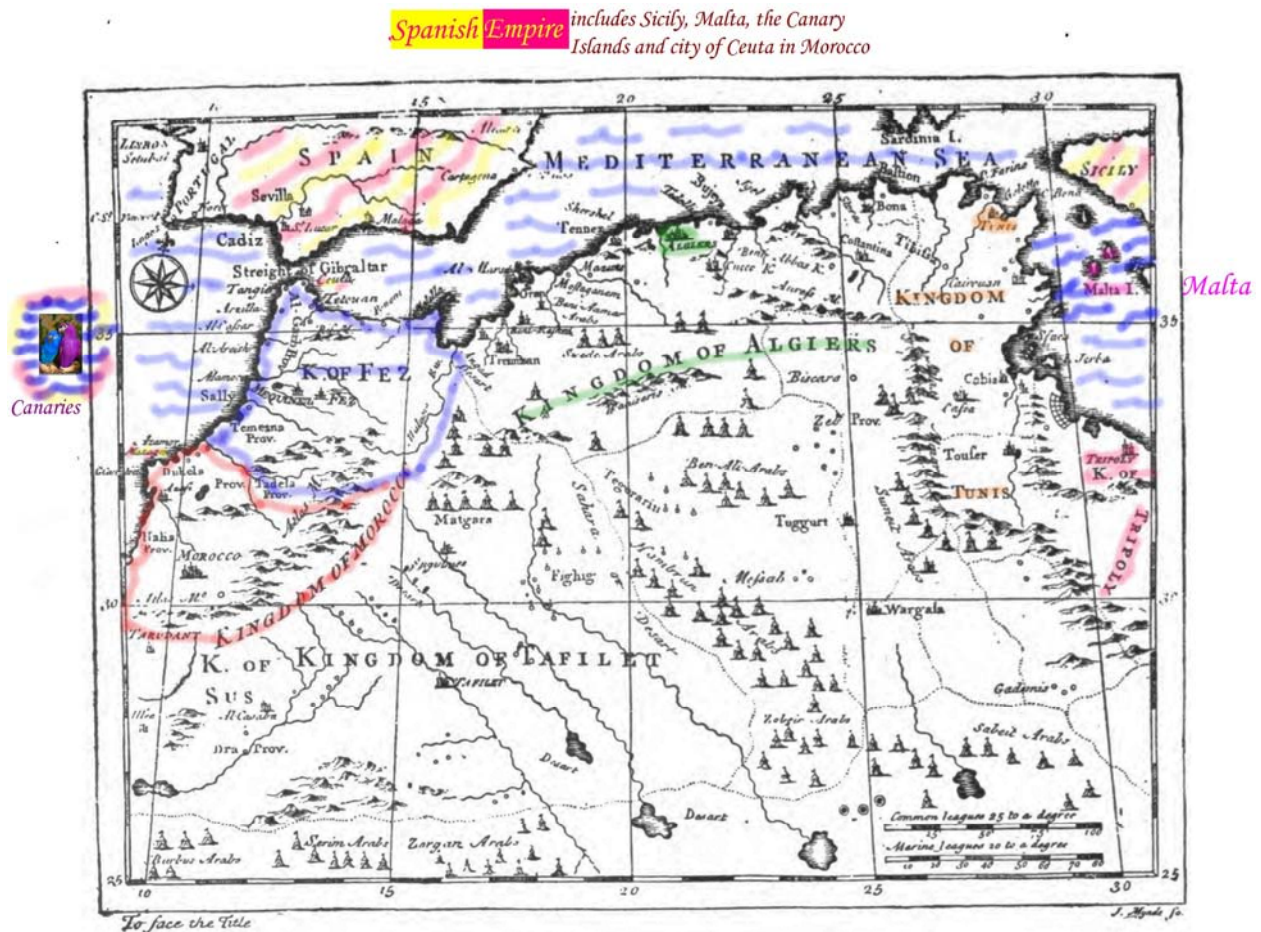


MALTA

The Kingdom of Sicily held the islands of Malta and Gozo and the Kingdom of Aragon held Sicily. In 1530 the use of these islands was given to the Knights of Saint John, a pirate force operating under the authority of the Pope. On the 1st of each November the Knights paid to the Viceroy of Sicily on behalf of the King of Aragon one Maltese falcon for a year's rent (and gave DASHIELL HAMMETT something to write about centuries later.) The Knights originally provided safety and support during the Crusades but they were kicked out of Jerusalem and chased off their island fortress on Rhodes. Their income waned as did their Crusading function. They may have been the first authority of Christian Europe to comprehend the usefulness of making piracy legal through the use of *lettres-de-marque* – government-issued pirate licenses in exchange for a share of the booty. Even greater amounts came from trafficking in human life – big bucks were made by ransoming wealthy captives and selling poor ones. They remained on Malta until 1799 when they surrendered to the superior French military forces under command of Napoleon Bonaparte.

The map below will help to orient you to the places discussed. The map illustrates a period when Morocco was really split into northern and southern Emirates (versus the early 1600s “Emirate of Fez” that only included the city of Fez).

The Spanish Empire included Sicily, Malta, the Canaries as well as the Moroccan cities of Ceuta on the Mediterranean and Mazagan on the Atlantic seaboard.



Emirate of Fez
Emirate of Morocco

Regency of Algiers

Eyalet of Tunis

Eyalet of Tripolitania

Eyalet is an administrative district of the Ottoman Empire and can be translated as county or province. Tripoli's official name was *Tripolitania* and was commonly called Tripoli-in-the-West. An Eyalet of Tripoli (Tripoli-in-the-East) already existed when Barbary Tripoli came under Ottoman rule.

இரத இரத/உத

ਪਰਮ ਪੁਰਖ ਪੁਰਖ

Ra'is Morato of the Moroccan Navy

CAID MORAT OF SALEE

President, Republic of the Bou-Regreg

CAID MORAT OF QUALIDA

RA'IS, PORT OF SAFI

Husband: **JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM**
 Born: circa 1570 Haarlem, Holland, Netherlands
 Died: circa 1650¹ Oualida, Duquella, Morocco
 Father: JAN GIJSBERTSEN VAN HAARLEM
 Mother:

Wife 1: SOUTGEN CAVES
 Born: circa 1575
 Died: after 1622
 Married: before 1595 Holland, Netherlands
 Father:
 Mother:

Issue:	Born:	Where:
1) LYSBETH JANSEN VAN HAARLEM	circa 1595	Holland, Netherlands

Wife 2: **MARGARITA (*Berber woman*)**
 Born:
 Died:
 Married: before 1602 Cartagena, Murcia, Castile
 Father:
 Mother:

Issue:	Born:	Where:
2) ABRAHAM JANSEN VAN SALEE	1602	Cartagena, Murcia, Castile
3) PHILIP JANSEN VAN SALEE	1604	Cartagena, Murcia, Castile
4) ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE	1608	Cartagena, Murcia, Castile
5) CORNELIS JANSEN VAN SALEE	1609	Cartagena, Murcia, Castile

Wife 3: (*Unnamed daughter of EMIR or SULTAN OF MOROCCO*)
 Born:
 Died:
 Married: 1624 or 1634 Salee, Beni-Hassen, Morocco
 Father: ZIDAN EN NASIR or EL WALID BEN ZIDAN
 Mother:
 Issue: None known

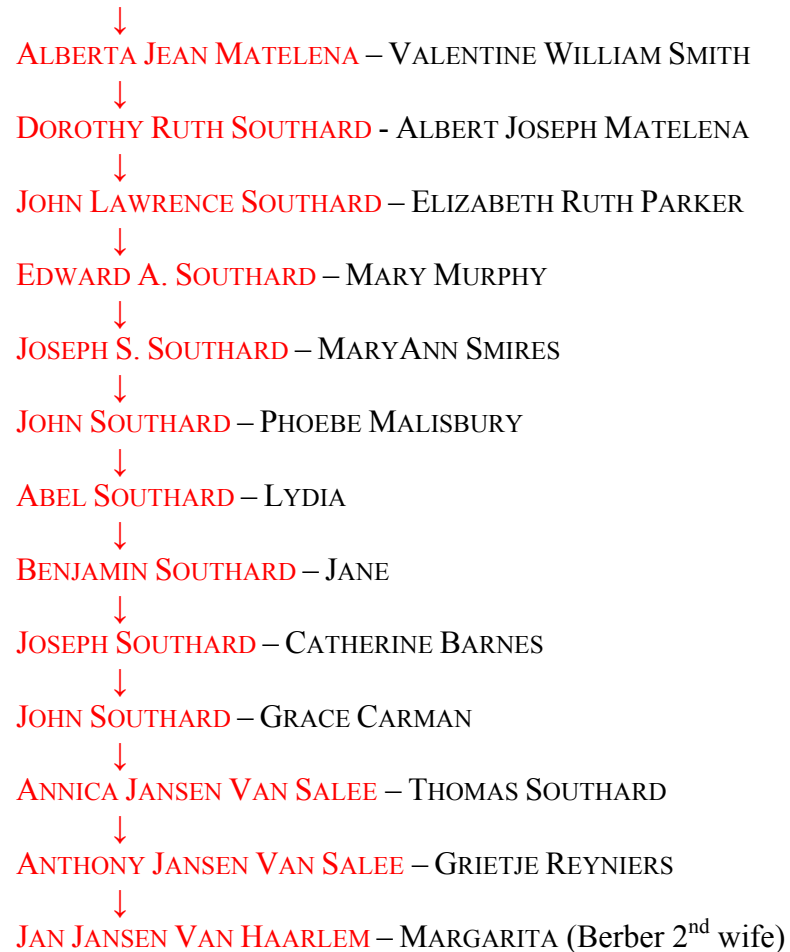
THE BORING EARLY YEARS

The very name passed down to us over the centuries give us some clues about this ancestor.

- First: Toponymic surname – it can be surmised that he was from the town of Haarlem as “VAN” translates to “FROM” as in JAN JANSEN *FROM* HAARLEM. However just what “FROM HAARLEM” means is not certain. It does not say he was *born* in Haarlem, only that he was *from* that place. He may have been born in Haarlem or in a nearby place, which would be a sensible, if not proven, statement.
- Second: Patronymic surname – “JANSEN” literally translates to “JAN’S SON.” The development of surname usage followed a similar pattern in much of Europe in that a second name based on the father’s name was used in addition to the first; this is called patronymic naming. This helped to identify the *JAN who was JAN’S SON* from the *JAN who was DIRK’S SON* or “*JAN JANSEN*” from “*JAN DIRKSON*.” Both names were specific to one individual with the tradition of actually keeping the same surname through successive generations slowly catching on from the 15th to 17th centuries. While we can not be sure that the use of a specific second name versus a handed-down surname was the method of naming for this ancestor, the possible ancestry of JAN JANSEN found later indicates that the second name was specific until the mid-16th century. Absence evidence to the contrary, it is plausible to accept the premise that the use of second names continued to follow the established pattern through the rest of the 16th century and therefore the father of JAN JANSEN was named JAN. Additional evidence for accepting such a premise comes from the naming of JAN JANSEN’S granddaughters born in the 1630s and 1640s, the daughters of his son ANTHONY. The four girls were named ANNICA, SARAH, CORNELIA and EVA and the few contemporary records available often list a second name: ANTONISE, which means *ANTHONY’S DAUGHTER*. They also used JANSEN as their surname so we see when the change from using a patronymic name to a hereditary surname occurred in this branch.
- Third: the necessity of identifying oneself accurately comes with growing prominence in whatever community you find yourself in. JAN was a merchant and as he grew more successful, the need to accurately identify him grew as well.
- Fourth: we can assume that the application of the phrase “VAN HAARLEM” was used to prevent one JAN JANSEN from being mistaken for a different JAN JANSEN. Inherent with such a usage is the fact that to use this phrase while JAN JANSEN lived in Haarlem would have been pointless; every JAN JANSEN living in Haarlem was, by definition, JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM. So the *VAN HAARLEM* was added during the time JAN JANSEN, a merchant of some accord, was living somewhere other than Haarlem. Not only somewhere else, but somewhere where the qualifier VAN HAARLEM was understood, somewhere like Amsterdam.
- Fifth: it appears that VAN HAARLEM was used by JAN for many years, at least until he appears in the slave market in Algiers which possibly shows that use of his full name carried with it some cache that the abbreviated form did not.

Thirteen generations separate us from our “pirate” ancestor:

WILLIAM SMITH – VALERIE SMITH – ROBERT SMITH – BRIAN SMITH – MELISSA SMITH



JAN’S descendants number in the thousands after thirteen generations. With such a huge population of cousins, there are bound to be a few stand-outs. Two U.S. Presidents named ROOSEVELT are related to us as is a former First Lady born with the surname BOUVIER, as in JACQUELINE (BOUVIER) KENNEDY ONASSIS – that could explain why I always thought Mom looked like JACKIE O. The VANDERBILT clan count themselves as our relatives – both the COMMODORE and the former fashion-maven GLORIA – as is the well-known news reporter, and one of our contemporary cousins, ANDERSON COOPER, son of “Little” GLORIA VANDERBILT. HUMPHREY BOGART is also named among JAN’S descendants.

THE ANCESTRY OF JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM may be:²

JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM born: 1570

*JAN GIJSBERTSEN VAN HAARLEM** ~1540

GIJSBERT JANSEN VAN HAARLEM ~1508

+KORNELIS BOUCQUET (b ~1512)

Dau of:

BLASIIUS BOUCQUET (b ~1480)

JAN DIRKSEN VAN HAARLEM ~1476

+BARBARA JOSTENSEN (b ~1495)

DIRK JACOBSEN VAN HAARLEM ~1444

JACOB EINGELBRECHTSEN VAN HAARLEM ~1414

EINGELBRECHT DIRKSEN VAN HAARLEM ~1384

DIRK VAN HAARLEM born: ~1350

**This person is purely conjecture on my part but serves to explain the name of our ancestor as "JAN, son of JAN" and the improbability that the 62-year-old GIJSBERT fathered JAN JANSEN in 1570.*

1570 – 1598: HAARLEM & AMSTERDAM

Returning to JAN JANSEN, it seems at least plausible to say that he became a merchant, possibly in woolens and linens, while living in Haarlem and as that city's fortunes faltered and those of Amsterdam flourished, he made the logical decision to move to Amsterdam. Some historians state that JAN was in Dunkirk before that Protestant city in Flanders fell to the Spanish in 1583.³ Though lacking in supporting evidence, it would not be unusual for the time period to find a thirteen-year-old male working for his father or another merchant. At this point it is not possible to say when and where his first marriage occurred or even where they lived. Some maintain JAN and his first family made Haarlem their home, based on the use of the toponymic VAN HAARLEM. However, as suggested earlier, the use of VAN HAARLEM while actually living in Haarlem would be an exercise in futility as everyone living in Haarlem was VAN HAARLEM. A more logical assumption is that the family did not live in Haarlem but somewhere else where VAN HAARLEM would help identify exactly who you were.

That he was married and had a daughter while still in Holland is attested to by the actions of government officials in 1623. In an attempt to convince JAN to return to Holland and resume his responsibility as husband and father, they presented both wife and daughter within view from the deck of his ship as it was docked in the southern coastal port city of Veere for repairs. That this event transpired some 20 plus years after JAN last lived in Holland is surprising but the story is relayed in a journal kept by a member of the Dutch Embassy to Morocco in 1640 – 41.

KIDNAPPED ON THE HIGH SEAS?

A story handed down over the years has JAN sailing his merchant ship from Amsterdam to Lanzarote in the Canary Islands. The Canary Islands, lying about sixty miles west of Morocco, were claimed for the Kingdom of Castile in 1345 by Alfonso XI (1312 – 1350). However, significant Castilian colonization would wait for another four-and-a-half decades and another century would pass before they were firmly in the hands of the Castilians.

Supposedly our ancestor's ship was overpowered by Barbary corsairs based out of Algiers while heading into, or lying at anchor, in the port of Lanzarote. Just when this supposedly happened has never been made clear. In 1630 Jan is quoted as saying that he was captured at Lanzarote and held prisoner at Algiers with a lot of Spaniards, but he does not say when. We must hope that we are correct in our *a priori* assumption that JAN was the owner or at least the captain of the vessel taken. Before proceeding with that assumption, there is another – that JAN was not the captain at the time, rather he was an eager teenager hoping to quickly move up to such a post in 1585 when MURĀD REĪS, an Algerian corsair of Albanian ancestry sails to Salee where he is joined by a brigantine and proceeds to raid Lanzarote and carry off 300 inhabitants and the Governor with his family. He immediately ransomed the Count and the island's other chief family members taken hostage before sailing away. This renegade is often confused with JAN JANSEN, who is found later using the same name. If we accept this as fact, that JAN, at 16, was taken hostage, we also have to accept that, by some means, JAN was freed and returned to the Netherlands for a number of years where he married and had a family.



We now return to our *a priori* assumption that JAN was, in fact, owner, or at least the captain, of the vessel taken. With that assumption, we can then make the logical conclusion that JAN was at least 25 years old when captured as that is the youngest age of any ship's captain encountered by this writer thus far, placing the event after 1594. A look at the known and supposed facts of his life show that if this kidnapping did occur, it must have been in the two decades between 1598 and 1618. The facts support either a date before 1604 or one after 1608 for JAN'S encounter with Algerine corsairs. Those facts that favor an early time frame follow first. A Dutch fleet is known to have reduced the town of Las Palmas in the Canary Islands to rubble in 1599 during their long fight for independence from Spain so we can say without doubt that Dutch ships could, and did, sail to the Islands.⁴ It must also be accepted that *if* his ship was boarded and taken, it had to be a ship that was *worth* boarding and taking, that is to say, a merchant vessel. There is no evidence that shows JAN sailing merchant vessels anytime after 1605. His vessel that was taken would not have been a pirate ship as he would have had a strong military contingent aboard and, if it was a pirate vessel, then JAN had already converted to Islam and the captor couldn't bring such a prize to Algiers if it had been captained by a Muslim as piracy is explicitly banned in the Koran. If, as is found in some records, he sailed with the afore mentioned MURAD RA'IS, then it is safe to say he was in Algiers before 1609 which is the last time MURAD is mentioned there – some say he died while others say he went to Constantinople to serve the Sultan; either way a connection between the two favors an earlier capture date. It has been remarked that JAN, as CAPTAIN JOHN, negotiated a treaty with ELIZABETH I, QUEEN OF ENGLAND on behalf of the REGENT OF ALGIERS,

SÜLEYMAN. If this is true, and it is highly doubtful it is true, it had to occur before 1603 as that is the year that both ELIZABETH and SÜLEYMAN died. (See APPENDIX 1) The existence of his second family with a Muslim Berber wife in Cartagena during the first decade of the 17th century also favors an earlier date – his conversion to Islam occurred before his second marriage (thus making it valid) and that conversion took place in an Islamic state, not Holland and definitely not Spain. The move from Cartagena to Salee around 1610 also favors an earlier date as JAN did not sail merchant vessels from either port to Lanzarote, he was a corsair that intercepted such vessels! On the other hand, between 1609 and 1621, the fragile peace that existed between the Dutch and the Spanish opened a window of opportunity for the Barbary corsairs. Spain was their enemy, and their target; anyone that wasn't an enemy of the Spanish Empire was fair game on the high seas. A Dutch prize could have been taken to Algiers during this time but not earlier, or later. Enemies of Spain were a *de facto* ally of Algiers and, as such, enjoyed a high degree of immunity from the depredations of the Barbary corsairs – it is unlikely that JAN was taken before 1609 *if* he was flying the Dutch flag. Careful consideration of the facts and the possibilities lead this author to believe that JAN was in Algiers from 1597 or '98 until 1604 or '05. The “how, when and why” of his arrival is open for discussion – no record is known to exist that details his arrival in Algiers as a prize or otherwise (and these records are surprisingly detailed) – but he did arrive and maybe he did so quite voluntarily.

Sorting out the conflicting information leads this author to a conclusion that is both reasonable, in as much as it explains being held in Algiers in 1618, and novel, in that the explanation given has not been previously mentioned. But we're only in 1598, that story is 2 decades away ...

JAN JANSEN, A successful Amsterdam merchant was also a competent sea-faring ship's captain. His success as a merchant is deduced from his being the owner, or at the least, a captain of a rather large sailing vessel, one capable of sailing to the Canary Islands lying some sixty miles off the Atlantic coast of Morocco. His ship was not the large oar-powered vessels common to

Mediterranean commerce, it was probably a *carrack*, → → → a “tall ship” with high masts festooned with canvas sails of all sizes and shapes – a true sailing ship.⁵ He apparently captained his own vessel and the story, as previously mentioned, has been passed down that his ship was commandeered by Algerine corsairs who made their living attacking European shipping and ports. (Algerine is the adjectival form used for a resident of Algiers while Algerian applies to a resident in the larger territory controlled from Algiers, usually called Algeria) The most well-known attack on the Canary Islands was led by MURAD RA'IS against Lanzarote in 1585 but this is too early to have involved



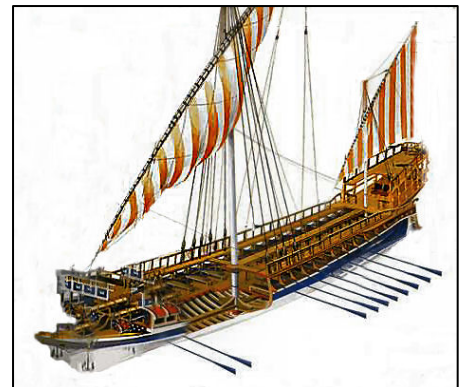
JAN as owner or captain of his own vessel. Rather, it would seem that his ship was boarded by corsairs enroute to or returning from Lanzarote; when this occurred is unclear but the earliest would have been the late 1590s and the latest, probably 1615 or so. The chief exports to the Islands were linens of all sorts, cordage, gun powder and coarse flax while the Islands were a source for a large quantity of Mexican dollars and the highly-valued logwood from Campeachy Bay in



Mexico plus a small amount of various wines.⁶ There was a large raid on the islands by a combined fleet of Algerine corsairs and Salee Rovers in June 1618 which some have asserted was the occasion of JAN'S enslavement (an assertion which, given what is known about JAN, is not logical). JAN would be captain of a large, lumbering and lightly-armed *carrack*, not a sleek, fast pirate ship such as the *English race-built galleon* (previous page, bottom left). The fact that he was taken while on the Atlantic lends support to my belief that the raid was conducted by a

European renegade captain and probably one of Dutch extraction as they were the foremost sailors of both the *carrack*, modified for piracy, and the *English galleon*. Here the timeline isn't quite so linear as one would like – the sequence of Lanzarote, Algiers, Cartagena, Fez, Algiers again, Salee, a third visit to Algiers, back to Salee and finally Oualida – isn't certain at all (though, for reasons that I hope will become apparent, this is probably the correct order). Whatever the sequence, we will start with the exciting story of being boarded by a pirate ship on the high seas near the Canary Islands.

The Mediterranean sailing crews were often made up of *Mudejars* and *Moriscos* and the *fuste* (above) was a favorite of both the Mediterranean Barbary corsairs and Moroccan Salee Rovers. It was a small, fast ship powered by sails and oars with a long, low profile that often sailed as a part of a squadron with the larger *galliot*s. Another favorite was the smaller, single-masted *galliot* (right) with one large lanteen (triangular) sail. Each *galliot* had between six and twelve oars on each side with each oar requiring two or three rowers – the smallest having 24 oarsmen and 72 on the largest; these oarsmen were fellow privateers/pirates who were needed for boarding parties – not slaves.



Mudejars were Muslims living under Christian Habsburg rule while *Morisco* was a pejorative term for converts from Islam to Christianity living under Christian rule. A *Marrano* was a pejorative term for converts from Judaism to Christianity living under Christian rule while Christians living under Muslim rule were *Mozarabs*. Many of the *Mudejars* were Muslims expelled from Spanish lands while the *Moriscos* were fleeing the increasingly intolerant Habsburg rule. Their sailing expertise was with the great ships powered by banks of oars, not sails, which were suitable for the Mediterranean but not the Atlantic. Dutch sailors could be found in significant numbers at Algiers; therefore, to understand the turn that JAN'S life took after being taken by Barbary corsairs, if he indeed was, we need to understand Algiers.

In the more than ten years this author has researched the life of JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM, I have read and reviewed hundreds of documents, letters, articles and various other sources. Not encountered, or even mentioned, in even a single source was any discussion about the diplomatic relations that existed at the times discussed between the governments involved, especially as they

addressed the issue of captives. Such a discussion would include a look at Dutch-Algerian relations of course, but as Algiers was a province of the Ottoman Empire, review of the Dutch-Ottoman relations is necessary. And since the United Provinces weren't so declared until 1609, Algerian-Spanish and Ottoman-Spanish relations have to be considered as well. A rather detailed discussion of those relations is to be found in APPENDIX 2 and, where necessary, my findings are included in the body of the text.

It is safe to say that there existed no diplomatic relations that precluded the capture and enslavement of JAN by corsairs from Algiers prior to the United Provinces being recognized as an independent nation in 1609 by the Ottoman Empire.

1598 – 1601: ALGIERS

The Catholic monarchs of Spain ramped up the *Conquista*, their attacks on coastal North Africa after 1492. That year was when the *Reconquista* was realized; they conquered the last remaining bastion of the centuries-old Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula when the Emirate of Granada was overthrown. The importance of good *pr* was practiced over a millennium ago – a “reconquest” implies the area had been once controlled by the victors – and Ferdinand and Isabella were expert at using this premise to get others to give them the money and men they needed to expand their growing kingdoms. Fortunately for them, no one ever bothered to check on this premise for, if they did, they would have found it to be false. The Iberian Peninsula was under Visigothic rule prior to Muslim and they adhered to Arianism, a form of Catholicism that predates Roman Catholicism and is still practiced in some areas of the Middle East and Africa to this day. The allies of the Spanish would soon come to regret their decision to help. The Spanish built offshore fortifications that commanded the harbors of all the larger ports of the *Maghreb* as North Africa is known. The Spanish Presidio or fortress on an islet in the harbor of Algiers was conquered in 1529 beginning the period of the Muslim *Conquista* which culminated with the fall of Tunis in 1574. The stones of the destroyed Spanish Presidio were used to make a causeway connecting the islet to the city, creating a larger and safer harbor the city needed to grow and prosper for, unlike its neighbors, the *only* commerce of Algiers was made from the taking of prizes through privateering and outright piracy.

By the end of the 16th century the support from the Golden Horn (Constantinople) was already decreasing. The 1571 Battle of Lepanto is legendary – a Christian fleet of three hundred odd galleys led by six mighty Venetian *galleasses*, so large they had to be towed into place, opposing an Ottoman fleet of more than two hundred galleys and sixty-six *galliot*s and *fustes*. Each side had about twenty-five thousand soldiers and an unknown number of sailors, galley slaves and free oarsmen. These weren't the tall ships festooned with sails of later years but low, wide ships powered by row after row of oarsmen, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, working in concert to maneuver these massive vessels in close confines. The Muslim Navy was defeated while the Christian Navy was merely a battered wreck. The fleet from Algiers, under command of EULDJ ALI, *beylerbey* (military predecessor of the *Bashaw*) of North Africa, scored the sole Turkish victory when he captured the flagship of the Knights of Saint John (the Maltese Knights) and presented their banner to the SULTAN in Constantinople. The mighty Turkish navy was rebuilt but remained confined to the eastern Mediterranean.

These military outposts were ruled by military commanders, called *beylerbeys*, until the territory became a regular province of the Ottoman Empire in 1587. The pashas for provincial Algiers were called *bashaws*; they were appointed by the Sultan in Constantinople (at a large cost to the

appointee) to be regent for 3 years. The regents, whose goal was to recover the cost of the appointment and then some, exercised limited authority as the Sultan was distant and offered no military or financial assistance at all and the continuing existence of the old *beylerbeys*, now in charge of the port, were true rivals. The port was ruled by a captain chosen by the corsairs. The appointed *bashaws* were:

1594 - 1596	KHIZR, Pasha for the 2 nd time
1596 - 1598	MUSTAFA, Pasha for the 2 nd time
1598 - 1599	HASAN BU RISA
1599 - 1603	SÜLEYMAN
1603 - 1605	KHIZR, Pasha for the 3 rd time

But the regent did not rule alone, he was joined by the *agha* of the military janissary corps and the *diwan*, the elected representatives of the cities powerful merchant class. Also crucial to maintaining the city's power was the presence of a strong and loyal navy who was under the *RA'IS* or Admiral, successors to the *beylerbeys*. With 4 major centers of power: *bashaws*, *agha*, *diwan* and *RA'IS* it was a very tricky playing field to try and negotiate. This need for a navy was answered by the ships of the Dutch renegades who brought the know-how to captain the latest in sea-going vessels – the tall-masted ships powered by wind and sails rather than slaves and oars.



It is important to know that these pseudo-navies had very different reasons for existing when compared to their counterparts, the “real” navies. Real ones were a branch of the military – they protected and attacked; they killed and destroyed. The corsair navies, named after the French *Lettres-du-Course*, hated to sink a ship or kill passengers and crew – you got nothing for a ship on the sea floor and no one was interested in ransoming or buying a dead captive. True, both navies did exist to protect – it's just *what* they protected that differed. Corsairs protected the enemy's ship and its cargo which could bring a hefty profit; they also wanted live passengers and crew – a wealthy merchant fetched some serious ransom money.

Pirates kept their own counsel and took prizes sailing under any flag for their own enrichment; *privateers* captured only those prizes that flew the flag of the enemies of their prince or religion. Being a religious enemy definitely had its advantages – Algiers might have a treaty with the Venetian Republic but did it have one with the Roman Catholic religion, the adherents of which were guaranteed to make up most if not all the crew of any Venetian vessel? Very few, if any, of the supply ships sailing for Malta flew the flag of the Knights of Saint John, yet they were supplying the enemy – did this make them fair game or not? What if they were flying the flag of an ally – were they friend or foe? The seas were filled with plenty of possible prizes – the favorite targets were the small to medium size merchant vessels who traveled unarmed and without escorts. They preferred sailing solo as to have a group descend on a port city caused the prices they could hope to obtain for whatever goods they were selling to drop since more ships

meant a greater supply and, at the same time, the cost they could expect to pay for items they needed would be higher since the demand was greater.

The port of Algiers was the domain of the *RA'IS* – the elected head of the corsairs council, the *taiffe ra'isi*, and high admiral of the private navy. However *ra'is* also designates *any* ship's captain so not every *ra'is* was an admiral though every admiral was a *ra'is* (which is also found spelled as *rais*, *re'is* and *reis*). *Corsair* most-often recalls the Barbary Coast privateers of Tripoli, Tunisia and Algiers who were not only local heroes but also the single greatest source of money in the area. But there were large communities of Catholic corsairs as well – most notably the Knights of Saint John at Malta and the Knights of Saint Stephen based in Tuscany. The main difference was the flag you hoisted – Cross or Crescent? Another difference was the future of any captives and in this matter it is a well-known fact that a Catholic slave in Algiers had it heads-over-heels better than a Muslim slave anywhere in Europe. Spanish shipping was the perennial target of the Barbary corsairs – remember “Spanish” includes Sicily, Naples, the Balearic and Canary Islands and then some. The northern Italian States were also targets as was France, though intermittently and the English as they penetrated farther into the Mediterranean. Not to be left behind, the close of the 16th century witnessed the arrival of the round ship with tall sails from Protestant Northern Europe usually sailing under their national flag which was more-often-than-not, Dutch. Sailing the Mediterranean, as pirate or pilgrim, as merchant or potentate, was never more dangerous than at this point in time.

These corsair captains were often *renegadoes*, Christian converts from the seafaring centers of Europe; in fact renegades supplied about two-thirds of an average-size crew. As a testimony of the influence of the corsair navy, one only need look at its size – by the middle of the 16th century in Algiers alone there were thirty-eight *galliot*s and twenty-five *brigantines* with a host of smaller vessels that required some fifteen thousand men representing some *fifteen percent* of the population; in the 1630s this navy numbered some seventy heavily-armed, large sailing ships though oar-powered vessels were still the majority. The vessel captained by the corsair was a private concern not a public one – meaning the ships were not part of any official government-sponsored navy but rather owned privately, sometimes by the captain but often by a group of investors who expected to receive a good return on their investment. The classic Algerine raider, called a *caravelle* or *xebec* was only coming into widespread use. It had the sleek hull of the *galley* but with greater overhang at the bow and stern which allowed for it to fire a broadside to overawe their target (a *galley's* cannons only shot forward or aft, not a broadside). It had three masts with lanteen sails; the foremast sail was considerably raked toward the bow while the mizzenmast was likewise raked toward the stern. The largest mounted up to 36 guns which compared favorably to naval sloops of war and frigates sent to oppose them. The heavy guns, and up to three hundred men, caused them to roll heavily in anything more than moderate waves and swamp so they were suitable only for the calmer waters of the Mediterranean, and only during the calmer sailing seasons. Many a captain gladly exchanged flying under the piratical Jolly Roger for the green crescent moon and stars. Knowing the layout of the port cities of the north Mediterranean coast and being able to command a sizeable vessel, entry into the *ta'ifa* (society) of Algerine seaman would be possible with conversion to Islam – which was a simple matter of raising one hand and stating three times that Allah was the one true God. By the time our ancestor was taken to Algiers, the *RA'IS* came to exercise full control and authority over all sea-going matters including the operation of the port while the *bashaw* and the *agha*, leader of the foreign Janissary military corps, retained control over all interior matters.



An unarmed merchant ship such as JAN sailed had a crew numbering less than fifty, probably closer to thirty or thirty-five. Being taken as a prize of the Barbary Corsairs from Algiers translated into being held for ransom for most and slavery for a few – maybe. Captives that possessed skills or talents that were required or desired by the *bashaw*, like being able to sail a ship, often avoided both – which meant no chance for being freed by paying a ransom and a minimal loss of freedom by remaining a captive. It is well beyond the scope of this work to detail what it meant to be a

slave in 16th century Algiers, as that status probably didn't apply to our ancestor, but suffice it to say that "their" slavery in no way begins to approach the concept of "slavery" as found in our own Deep South. True, slaves were property; also true, slaves lived in their own quarters, operated businesses, some became wealthy and not-a-few refused their freedom when the opportunity presented itself as their slave life offered benefits such as security and wealth that freedom could not. They received free food and lodging ... and a salary! They could come and go pretty much as they pleased, they could attend Roman Catholic services, while coffee shops and taverns run by their fellow "slaves" offered relaxation and the public baths were rivaled nowhere. There was a strong disincentive for religious conversion as well – a slave who converted to Islam was no longer eligible for ransoming by the Catholic priests (here we see the origins of the Redemptorist Fathers) because his soul was deemed "lost." Contrary to what is often written, a slave that converted to Islam was *not* freed; in fact he was often subject to *worse* treatment, being viewed as someone who would say anything to get what he wanted. And, once converted there was no going back – any convert that renounced Islam in the future was executed. Algiers surpassed every European port city and most inland ones as well, when it came to climate, safety, cleanliness, markets, weather, lodging, health care (Muslims routinely presented themselves to the Catholic hospitals as the care given, minimal as it was, was of the highest quality) and a host of other yardsticks.

While there were a significant number of enslaved Christians, the "expert opinions" of "historians" like ROBERT DAVIS (in Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy 1500 -1800) of 1 to 1¼ million between the 16th and 19th centuries turn out to be not so expert after all. From 1544 to 1563 the total number of Christians captured in "large raids" and sold into slavery was 39 – 40,000. Adding 50% to account for smaller raids gives a figure of 60,000 over 20 years. Extrapolating this to 300 years yields a total of 900,000. Close to a million, you say? True, but this ignores the fact that the number of Christians enslaved was the highest in the 16th century and almost non-existent by the

18th; a realistic estimate based on known figures would be about half-a-million. A person saying a million-plus is an expert certainly, an expert at lying.

Why, as a captive, did JAN not suffer the indignities visited on newly-captured slaves? Because the *bashaw* received ten percent of the booty of each prize and that included ten percent of all captives. A man with JAN'S skills and experience was highly desired and it is a virtual certainty that he would be among the few "chosen" ones to be retained by the *bashaw*. JAN'S skills went beyond that of ship's captain, entering into the realm of piracy and he was undoubtedly well-informed of the value that men of his caliber offered. Rather than meekly being "taken" into the service of the *bashaw* he probably negotiated a hard bargain. It is also possible that JAN, being captured by MURAD RA'IS (just not on his 1585 raid) was taken into his corsair crew immediately. Mastering an armed pirate ship required about ten times the number of his crew and required the same skills that his crew had; it is logical to assume his crew accompanied him into the ranks of the corsairs. A standard corsair had both ships' officers and military personnel. The officers included the captain and his second-in-command, a pilot, navigator and surgeon, a scribe to keep the log and invoice the prizes, a master of the hatch and another for the sails, and a crew of sailors. The *agha* and his lieutenant were in charge of the soldiers while a master cannoneer and his assistants handled the guns. Technically not free, to many observers, it seemed otherwise – JAN would be given a house, modest at first but growing in splendor with each prize he captured. He probably "freed" his own crew inasmuch as they still crewed for him on sea and lived quite well-off on land – they probably had a better life as Algerine slaves than as free Dutch privateers. The Koran expressly forbids piracy so these voyages acquired, or required, a religious purpose – the *jihad*. Unorthodox Muslim saints called *marabouts* were consulted on the best date to sail, the bow of the ship was christened (I have serious reservations about the use of that word here!) not with champagne (this was a Muslim country after all) but with the blood of a freshly-slain sheep which confirmed the religious nature of the voyage in some esoteric way, the flag of the ship dipped as it passed the religious shrine in the harbor and the RA'IS said a prayer. The division of the booty was highly regulated: 10 to 12% went to the *bashaw*, another 1% went for the upkeep of the harbor and mole and 1% to the *marabout*. One-half of what remained, about 43 or 44%, went to the ships' owners while the other half went to the crew as determined by portions. The size of each portion depended on the total number of crew members: the captain received 10 – 12 parts; the *agha*, the pilot, the navigator, the master of the sails, the surgeon and master cannoneer got 3 parts each; the master of the hatch, the cannoneers and each janissary (soldier) and sailor received 2 parts; and each Moor received 1 part. Amounts owed to any of the crew that were slaves went to their patron, a lucrative position as the patron also received an amount up front for "renting" their property to the ship's owners to begin with; whether or not a slave received his portion was based on agreements made before the ship left port. It's easy to see how a captain that had his own ship got rich very quickly. Thus passed the life of our ancestor JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM – for a time at least.

The Dutch renegade, SIMON DE DANSER known as DIABLO (or DELI) RA'IS was in Algiers at this time and JAN may have sailed with him. That JAN personally knew, and most likely sailed with, the Algerian naval admiral MURAD RA'IS can be gleaned from his adoption of that same name later in life. MURAD RA'IS hailed from Albania and disappeared from the area in 1609 but JAN'S appearance in records as MURAD RA'IS, THE YOUNGER apparently precedes this. Such an assumption speaks highly of the ability and respect afforded to JAN; he probably would have been killed had he not proven himself worthy. This has caused a great deal of confusion in the retelling of the exploits of JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM. One thing is for certain, to become this

successful was probably due, in part, to JAN's religious conversion. There is reason to believe that JAN quickly showed great skill within the corsair community which allowed him to advance within its ranks. He advanced far enough to become familiar with the structure of the *taiffe ra'isi*, the captain's council, and this familiarity would serve him well in the future. It isn't clear how long JAN stayed in Algiers but it is believed that he took a second wife in the decade following his conversion to Islam.

It is thought that JAN adopted the Arabic name MURAD, meaning desire or wish, before 1609; possibly before 1602 when he converted to Islam. Some claim JAN also went by the name JOHN BARBER while others confuse him with LITTLE JOHN WARD who was in Salee in 1605 and '06. Known as YUSUF RA'IS, WARD died in 1622. JAN's Arabic names are often given as CA'ID MURAT and MURAT RA'IS meaning GOVERNOR MURAD and ADMIRAL respectively. Many versions of the Arabic forms were recorded but these reflect the language of the recorder: MURAD RE'IS (Dutch), MUTARE RE'IS (Neapolitan and Catalan), MORATO RE'IS (Castilian) and MURAT RE'IS (French); in his own letters he used a phonetic spelling: MOERAETTERES .

1601 – 1609: CARTAGENA

Just as JAN's arrival in Algiers is shrouded in mystery, so is his departure. It has been incorrectly stated that in late 1601 a deputation of fifty Moriscos from Valencia met with the Moroccan sultan, ZIDAN, requesting aid for a Muslim *Reconquista*. ZIDAN was not ruler until his father's death in 1603 and did not actually accede to power, as Emir, until several years later; nevertheless, his aid may have been sought after as the son of EMIR AL-MANSUR. The Muslim *Reconquista* was a real plan, but its execution was poor. JAN may have moved to Cartagena as part of a *Reconquista* that never materialized. ZIDAN agreed to offer assistance, supplying Dutch crews for his ships. Algiers was undoubtedly involved in any *Reconquista*; maybe JAN was sent as an agent. Why the destination was Cartagena is unknown but it had a large Muslim population and was a strategic location for Algiers. The Kingdom of Murcia, which had fallen to the Crown of Castile by 1244, was the last of the Spanish kingdoms to enact the repressive measures of FELIPE III so it may have been the most liberal with respect to its Muslim population. In fact the Muslim population was increasing, while that of the Christians decreasing, as late as the start of the 17th century. It is believed that a large Muslim population was thriving in the *aljama*, the 400-year-old walled Muslim ghetto, in this port city and that a somewhat organized community existed in the town composed of both locals and foreigners that aided and abetted the Barbary corsairs in visiting their depredations on the Spanish Empire. Troubles with the court of France opened up a new source of booty and Cartagena was ideally situated to intercept French merchant vessels heading south and west. As such, relocating to Cartagena would be logical and a relatively simple affair to manage. As Spanish wealth plummeted, conservatism grew and the once-glorious empire fell into the abyss from which it is only now emerging. The repressive measures against the Moriscos by the Spanish monarchy, while aimed at Spanish Muslims, had to be a strong deterrent for any Muslim – just how or why JAN decided to move to Cartagena must remain a mystery. In any event, JAN would return not once, but twice, to Algiers in the years to come. But for now, Algiers was left behind.

JAN allegedly sailed from La Rochelle, France in 1605 with a Letters-of-Marque that he could obtain from the Dutch consulate in that city or the French Admiralty to capture Spanish pirates who were based out of Duinkerken (Dunkirk, Dunkerque), a coastal town in Belgium. DEGROOT relates that the Dutch issued 136 Letters-of-Marque against Spanish shipping between 1606 and

1609. These letters allowed 70% of the profits to the holder with the remainder to the nascent Dutch government – 20% to the States-General and 10% to the Stadtholder of the provincial Admiralty that issued the Letters.⁷

Tradition has his second wife being of Berber ancestry and some have named her as MARGRIETJE, which would be a highly unlikely name for a resident of Cartagena or Algiers, the correct name would be MARGARITA. She very well could have been a *mudejar* living in Cartagena when she first met and married JAN which would favor being from the *Sanhaja* Berber tribe. This is by far the most likely scenario if for only one reason – a Muslim could not move into the realms of FELIPE III, only out of them. Logically, since a Muslim family from the Mahgreb could not move to Spanish lands but JAN could hide his Islamic conversion and, at the beginning of the century, the Muslim population was still quite sizeable. If by some chance he married in Algiers she was more-likely-than-not a member of one of the two largest Berber tribes to be found between Egypt in the east and Morocco in the west – the *Sanhaja* or the *Zanata*; a lesser possibility is the *Masmuda* who were the dominant Berber tribe of the High Atlas that had spread through Morocco reaching Salee by the end of the 16th century. The most common, therefore most likely, scenario is that his second wife's ancestors had been living on the Iberian Peninsula for many generations already, probably spanning two or more centuries. As such she was a *mudejar*, a practicing Muslim living in Christian lands rather than a *Morisco*, a Muslim convert to Catholicism. The *mudejar* community was quickly disappearing and would be gone shortly because of the forced conversions and expulsions. The fact of this second marriage gives us a time frame by which he converted to Islam; he must have converted before marrying (contradicting the 1618 or later conversion put forth by some authors). JAN later states that he was coerced into converting in Algiers while young and “in his infirmity” but such a statement is suspect as he is courting European diplomats at the time. The dominant branch was the Sunni sect, the largest of the four branches of Islam. Further, in al-Ándalus, as the Spanish lands were known in Arabic, the most liberal *Fiqh* or School of Law prevailed, the MALIKI as it did in Morocco. Algiers on the other hand, embraced a much more conservative *Fiqh* at the time; it has since embraced the MALIKI School.

Some have claimed that there were four sons born to JAN and MARGARITA while at Cartagena: ABRAHAM JANSEN VAN SALEE about 1602, PHILIP JANSEN VAN SALEE about 1604, ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE in 1608 and CORNELIS JANSEN VAN SALEE around 1609 but this is far from being a proven fact. Of these four only ANTHONY's birth is close to being a certainty. If there were more children born to the couple, it is likely that all were born between the years 1605 and 1612. Catholic registers for the area may record information on JAN's marriage and the baptism of any children as required under the laws in effect at the time; there is no known Islamic equivalent as such proceedings were prohibited. Clandestine Muslim ceremonies certainly occurred but these were not recorded.

FELIPE III had promulgated increasingly severe edicts against the Muslims in his dominions culminating with an Empire-wide expulsion, in opposition to the even-more-hard-line stance of genocide; in this way expulsion was seen as the merciful and Christian means-to-an-end. That there are several versions of FELIPE's edicts may be a function of the fact that each of the separate kingdoms had their own specific edicts. The edict in Aragon was described in 1613:

Three days notice only was given, and money alone was allowed to be taken, life being forfeited by remaining, though children under four electing to remain might do so, as also the Morisco wives of Christians,

but not the Morisco husbands of Christians, whose children under six months old might remain with their mothers. From one hundred and thirty places in Aragon there went forth sixty-four thousand souls, representing thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-three families, and all available galleys were pressed into the transport service.⁸

In some areas the edicts required all children between the ages of four and ten to be forcibly removed and placed as servants in the houses of the clergy and nobility; others required all Muslim children under five, or seven, remain behind to become servants.⁹ The expulsions started in the Valencian kingdom (117,000 in 1609) over the opposition of the Valencian nobility, and the Council of State recommended they continue, in order, with the kingdoms of Andalusia, Granada, Murcia and Aragon; the timetable for expulsion from Castile was deferred in a futile attempt to avoid the repeated bankruptcies of the government. (The *Crown of Castile* included not only the throne of the Kingdom of Castile, but several others including that of Murcia). Aragon and Castile expelled over 150,000 Moriscos between 1610 and 1614. When the Valencian expulsions commenced, Cartagena was one of the designated ports of embarkation; the destination for the vessels was often Spanish-held fort of Oran, near Algiers, from where the refugees were disbursed across North Africa. This is probably a major reason that JAN removed his family from Spanish lands but it seems to be not the only one. The Sultan of Morocco had been courting JAN for some time prior to his move into those lands. The latest that move was made was during 1612 but there is a good chance that it came about before 1610 as by December of that year the majority of the expulsions had been completed. Cartagena, as a port city, was overwhelmed by the exodus with many deportees suffering starvation, robbery, rape and being sold as slaves. To avoid the havoc, they may have crossed the Pyrenees and sailed from Marseille as many of their co-religionists did. Understanding this we can reasonably assume that the repressive measures of FELIPE III, while still bringing pressure to leave probably had less import than has been previously granted. The civil unrest in Morocco at this time allowed the Spanish to capture the Atlantic Coast cities of Larache (1610) and al-Ma'mura (1614, now named Mehdiya) which they held for seven decades.

1609 – 1611: FEZ

1611 – 1612: MARRAKESH

At some point JAN came to the attention of the SA'ADIAN EMIR ZIDAN EN NASIR of Morocco who engaged his services, no later than 1612. Such notice may have in fact been made much earlier by EMIR AHMAD AL-MANSUR who died in 1603. The SA'ADIAN dynasty was the first Arab dynasty to rule Morocco. AL-MANSUR achieved fame by expelling the Portuguese from Moroccan lands as well as stopping the Ottoman Turks and pushing them back into the confines of the Regency at Algiers. Historically an EMIR was a military governor or commander of the CALIPH'S armed forces. The CALIPH is the protector of Muslims anywhere much as the Pope is protector of Roman and Greek Catholics anywhere. In contrast a SULTAN rules within the confines of his territory, the SULTANATE. In Morocco the first EMIR was IDRIS I IBN ABDALLAH, the acknowledged founder of the country in the 8th century. Islamic leaders usually have sons numbering in the hundreds and rather than appoint one successor and develop relations with the others that support the leader, it is left to the surviving sons to battle for the throne. This entails a period of civil war almost every time a ruler dies. EMIR AL-MANSUR'S death in 1603 was no exception. The extended period of civil unrest ruined the nation and ended the SA'ADIAN dynasty. ZIDAN, AL-MANSUR'S youngest son was immediately declared Emir at Fez in 1603 and he is recognized as the EMIR OF MOROCCO. However he battled several brothers for control

throughout his 20+year reign. The first to challenge him was ABU FÁRIS who was declared Emir at Marrakesh. FÁRIS sent an army under the command of another brother, MOHAMMED XII ES-SHEIKH, to route ZIDAN from Fez, which he did. Instead of holding Fez for ABU FÁRIS, he had himself declared Emir of Fez, marched on Marrakesh and had ABU FÁRIS strangled. Marrakesh was taken from ES-SHEIKH by a cousin named MOHAMMED but the populace recalled ZIDAN. In 1609 ES-SHEIKH turned to Spain for help which soured relations between ZIDAN and FELIPE III permanently. FELIPE may have learned of ZIDAN'S planned role in a Muslim *Reconquista* and would gladly see him fail. In exchange for military aid, ES-SHEIKH gave the northern port city of Larache to Spain. ES-SHEIKH has little success and dies in 1613. Another brother 'ABD ALLAH AL-SHAikh seized the northern capital city of Fez in 1611 and it managed to hold out through 3 Emirs until 1626. ZIDAN moved to the southern capital of Marrakesh which is soon threatened by yet another brother, ABU MAHALLI. ZIDAN abandons his southern capital at the end of May 1612 and gathers his strength over the next two years before reasserting authority.¹⁰

The leader of the nation of Morocco as well as its constituent units of Fez, Marrakesh, Sus and Tifalalet had the title EMIR until ZIDAN'S reign – it seems he started as an EMIR ruling over an *Emirate* but ended as a SULTAN ruling a *Sultanate*. It isn't known if he was the first to claim this title but the historians that maintain it came 30 years later are mistaken. Because of this, just which son adopted the title of SULTAN is murky though it is known to have happened just around this time. The title was adopted partially as a result of the failed Ottoman attempts to extend their rule to the Atlantic. The Turks became the leaders of the CALIPHATE at Constantinople (the name Istanbul was not adopted until 1930), as well as being the SULTANS of the Ottoman Empire. To check this uniting of the Empire with the whole of Islam, the SA'ADIANS claimed the title of SULTAN firmly planting Morocco on equal footing with Constantinople in the political realm while still deferring to the CALIPH of Islam. From about 1610 to 1957 the SULTAN was the leader of Morocco, however nominal that leadership may have been at times. In 1957 the SULTANATE OF MOROCCO gave way to the *MAMLAKA* OF MOROCCO headed by a MALIK or KING.

What the *renegados* brought with them became invaluable to Morocco – their knowledge; they introduced fast and nimble wind-powered sailing ships to the Barbary Coast which soon supplanted the oar-powered galleys. They also brought their skill with ocean-going vessels; prior to this corsair activity was limited to a small area in the Atlantic just beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Morocco's Atlantic ports were the domain of the foreign merchants who sailed the great merchant ships. The small bands of pirates sailed in ships that were made for the Mediterranean, not the Atlantic and, in consequence, sailed close to the coastline often raiding the very merchants destined for their ports. They occasionally participated in raids on the Canary Islands, usually in concert with the corsairs from Algiers. In fact the initial contact between Algiers and Salee was probably through JAN'S namesake MURAT RA'IS who had been picked as Captain of the Port for Algiers in 1574 but only obtained approval to take the post from the Sublime Porte in 1594. Morocco and Algiers often worked in concert as the ports of one were open to the ships of the other. This simple arrangement meant the neither had to give up privateering against any nation as long as both did not have a treaty with the same country. A Moroccan-French peace meant French ships captured by a Moroccan fleet would head to Algiers. When peace between France and Algiers came along, the peace with Morocco would be broken and all French prizes made their way to Moroccan ports. As the ability to sail the ocean became a reality, Diplomatic relations between the United Provinces and the SULTAN began as soon as the ink on the 1609 Dutch-Spanish truce was signed; these merely continued earlier negotiations between the PRINCE OF ORANGE and the SULTAN. In 1609 two representatives for

ZIDAN were at The Hague: the AMBASSADOR HAMU BEN BASHIR and the SULTAN'S "servant and agent" SAMUEL PLIAJI. The PLIAJI handled most matters but *ad hoc* Ambassadors were appointed for specific missions or goals. (see Appendix 2: Dealing with the Ottoman Empire).

The PLIAJI family was Jewish merchants who are believed to have settled in Morocco after fleeing expulsion from Portugal. The surname is usually written as the Anglicised PALLACHE. Since they play an ongoing role in JAN'S life, introducing the PLIAJI family members now will help later. The servant and agent SAMUEL exercised more authority than the AMBASSADOR did. His oldest son ISAAC graduated from a Dutch university and later lectured at Leiden University. ISAAC converted to Christianity, the only son to do so, and describes himself later on as SAMUEL'S "last son" on account of this. SAMUEL died in 1616 at which time he was replaced by his brother JOSEPH PLIAJI as the SULTAN'S primary agent at The Hague. JOSEPH was often called away from The Hague and left affairs in the hands of his son DAVID PLIAJI. Another son, MOSES PLIAJI remained at ZIDAN'S side offering advice.¹¹ In 1609 Zidan immediately commenced negotiations with the United Provinces and, through the efforts of SAMUEL PLIAJI, secures 3 Dutch warships from the States-General to use against his rebellious brothers, as well as Spanish commercial and naval ships. SAMUEL'S efforts also result in the 1610 Treaty of Friendship between the two nations which facilitates JAN'S later use of Dutch ports.

JAN'S move to Morocco, whether it was the first or second time, was in 1609 or early 1610; once again, clear records do not exist. JAN spent most of his time in Morocco at Salee but it is evident from some records that he also spent time at Fez. The fact that his son ANTHONY added the toponymic VAN VAES (*FROM FEZ*) many years later supports this idea as well. ZIDAN knew that his ports needed a strong structure to operate under in order to allow their fleets to grow. Salee was the SULTAN'S first choice for his Moroccan port on the Atlantic; the more northern ports were not securely under his control and the ones to the south were smaller and had poor facilities. What he needed was someone that was skilled in sailing the ocean to lead his main port and he needed someone that was familiar with the successful structure used at Algiers. He found both in JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM. That he did so tells us a tiny bit about how JAN had spent his time in Cartagena. JAN probably kept sailing in the corsair fleet from Algiers and, as Morocco's ports were open to Algerian corsairs, JAN undoubtedly spent time there. How he became known to ZIDAN is unknown, only that he did become known. ZIDAN wanted JAN'S skills to build the port of Salee into a Moroccan Algiers. If JAN came at the SULTAN'S request, as many have written, we can assume that he would live wherever ZIDAN was and in 1609 that was Fez.

When ZIDAN moved to the southern capital of Marrakesh JAN likely went with him. After May 1612 when Marrakesh is abandoned, JAN probably headed to Salee to put ZIDAN'S plans for the city into action. ZIDAN heads south to Safi at first; it is probably there where MOSES PLIAJI plants the idea of building a new port city north of Safi in the Doukkela Province. JAN may have accompanied ZIDAN to Safi but, if he did, it was for a short time only. ZIDAN employs the services of a French adventurer to further develop these plans but before too long civil strife reaches the area and ZIDAN is forced to flee farther south. Before leaving Safi ZIDAN hires the French Consul JEAN DE CASTELANE and his ship to move some belongings, including the library he inherited from his father, to Agadir. The Consul loads his ship and (1) sets sail for France according to ZIDAN and friends or (2) is blown out to sea by a storm according to the French and their friends; either way, ZIDAN'S priceless library is onboard. A bolt of karma hits the ship when he is captured by DON PEDRO DE LARA who holds a Spanish Letter-of-Marque. The destination of the 4,000+ books and exquisite manuscripts is changed to Spain. In 1614 this treasure, now

one of Europe's largest and most significant collections of Arabic literature, is deposited at FELIPE III's new El Escorial palace several miles north of Madrid where it can be seen to this day.

ZIDAN heads to Agadir and then inland to the area of Tifalalet before reclaiming to his southern capital of Marrakesh in November 1613. After deposing and disposing of ABU MAHALLI, he rules from there, without his library, for the next 5 years. In (somewhat unfair) retaliation for the French Consul's heist ZIDAN throws some French citizens in prison and executes a French adventurer he engaged to develop MOSES PLIAJI'S plans of for a new port city in the Doukkela Province. ZIDAN must have been fuming because under the prize law of the day, the Spanish capture of the French ship with his stolen library on board means that jurisdiction now fell to the Spanish Admiralty which could claim the ship and cargo as a legitimate prize. France will maintain their innocence as a storm caused the problem while ZIDAN maintains it was outright thievery. Negotiations will continue for the rest of his reign and no record of any compensation for ZIDAN'S loss has been found. For his part, FELIPE was probably still fuming over the 3 Dutch warships used by ZIDAN to defeat his rebel brother who FELIPE backed and would like nothing better than to be able to lord this invaluable collection over ZIDAN at every chance.

1612 – 1615: BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF SALEE

Morocco, like the whole of North Africa, adopted the religion from the East but, quite unlike North Africa, never adopted the ruler from the East. The SULTAN in Constantinople held a vast Empire that sometimes stretched to the doors of Vienna and reached the Atlantic through Spain and Portugal, ruled Sicily and large parts of southern Italy, and reached to India and China in the East but, in North Africa, extended only to the western edge of Algeria – his authority only rarely crossed the Atlas Mountains into Morocco. Tribute was always paid to the CALIPH at Constantinople and the Sultan of Morocco; the *muezzins* may have included the Ottoman SULTAN in the prayers they offered from the minarets of the mosques, but *that* SULTAN was the CALIPH, their spiritual leader, *their* SULTAN was the leader of their lands, their political leader. External encroachments caused the fractured Emirate to shrink – Algiers claimed its eastern edge, Berber tribes asserted their authority in the high plateaus and mountain ranges and the people from the great desert region chipped away at the southern edges all the way to the Atlantic.; it was only from 1626 to 1628 that he was in real control of the whole of Morocco. The extent of his rule before this did not encompass the whole of the country and, in fact, was often circumscribed by the areas immediately surrounding the interior cities of Tifilat and Marrakesh while at others he controlled Fez. In Muslim lands, saints were either *orthodox*, embraced by the Islamic hierarchy, or *maraboutic* who operated outside of Islam and were usually of humble origins and often were revered for the miracle-working prowess. These *marabouts* became increasingly important during the brothers fight for the throne to such an extent that they, as a group, became a threat to the throne. This so-called *Maraboutic Crises* was most threatening from 1615 until 1628. Foreign governments also got involved as the brothers fought; ZIDAN secured aid from the Dutch who sent 3 warships to transport his troops.



Just how remote the towns of Rabat and Salee were in the 16th and 17th centuries is hard to fathom. The Bou-Regreg River separates Salee on the north bank from Rabat on the south. Today they are thriving twin cities; Rabat is the capital of Morocco; they have an international flair and metropolitan ambience yet retain a bit of their ancient charm in their older quarters. Four hundred years ago they were small commercial outposts only reachable by sea; there were no overland routes; they were completely isolated and insulated; the approach by sea was protected by a sand bar and plenty of cannon. Salétian corsairs called *al-ghuzat* by

Muslims (which means soldiers of the Prophet Mohammed) were hailed as religious warriors against infidel Christians. They quickly mastered square-riggers & had 40 ships in start of 17th century.¹²

Muslim refugees from Andalusia established a semi-autonomous piratical principality in the north, the *Republic of Tétouan*, ruled by the NAQIS family at Tétouan. Though afforded a modicum of self-government, especially pertaining to the internal affairs of the town, this *Republic* was never a separate geopolitical entity from the parent Sultanate.

Unlike Tétouan to the north, the Andalusians were not the only foreigners in Salee. A virtual *Who's Who* of Dutch renegades established themselves at Salee as well, quite possibly as a function of the twelve-year peace that was established between the kingdoms of Spain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands in 1609. Dutch privateers operating from the Spanish Mediterranean port cities could no longer enjoy the fruits of plundering Spanish shipping under *letters-of-marque* nor could they enjoy the safety of the harbor at Algiers whose own stance, *vis-à-vis* the Spains, was altered by this peace. These sea-faring Dutch had to find another location to establish their raiding community.

Needless to say, these ongoing civil wars played havoc on the pirates and corsairs operating from Salee with the result being a truly innovative and novel approach. Salee would be granted an autonomous status by the Sultanate under ZIDAN, similar to what happened at Tétouan but with the Sultan's approval. This made Salee a less-inviting target to ZIDAN's rebellious brothers.

The *Diwán* of Salee, a 12 or 14-member ruling council, was probably modeled on the *taïffe ra'isi* of Algiers rather than their *Diwán*. Remember, Algiers had both a government, the *Diwán*, and a port authority, the *taïffe ra'isi*. Salee already had a government, the Sultanate; what was needed

was the Sultanate's authority combined with a port authority. This authority would be the SULTAN'S Admiralty; its leader the Admiral. But that was not all, besides being the Admiralty, this authority would also have to base the SULTAN'S Navy, handle the commercial traffic, oversee the privateer community, collect fees for port maintenance; provide a military contingent for the castle and whatever else was required.

The *Diwán* of Algiers was the government and, as such, there exists documents that show us how it functioned. The same applies to the *Diwán* at Salee and the existing documents reveal that it functioned completely different from that at Algiers, meaning the Regency's *Diwán* was not the basis for the one at Salee. The *taiffe ra'isi* of Algiers has left us no documents to see its structure but it has left us with an idea of how prizes were divided among the government, the port, the crew members and others having a vested interest in a ship. But a *taiffe ra'isi* was a captain's council, not a government; on the other hand a *Diwan* was a government and that name was chosen for the government at Salee. Algiers also left us with the titles born by the captain of the port: DIABLO RA'IS (DE DANSER, c1605) and SÜLEYMAN RA'IS (DE VEENBOER, c1615) for example. Based on the similar structure for prize distribution, similar titles (though RA'IS was a common title through all Islamic lands) and JAN JANSEN being first at Algiers then coming to Morocco at the request of the SULTAN with the subsequent rapid development of Salee with JAN as RA'IS – it is quite logical that he was the one to set up the structure of the *Diwán* and oversee the port for the SULTAN.¹³

This autonomous area, the REPUBLIC OF SALEE, had control at all levels of government including all money and slaves from prizes taken into their port, in exchange they acknowledged ZIDAN as their SULTAN but his percentage of any booty went to the *Diwán* which was used for the expense of maintaining the port, the military, the Admiralty, etc. JAN was the first Governor of the REPUBLIC OF SALEE for a term of one year, but it is not known if he was appointed by ZIDAN or elected by the *Diwán* or some combination of both. JAN supposedly chose a fellow Dutchman to be his Vice-Admiral: MATHYS VAN BOSTEL OOSTERLINCK; implying that JAN was the RA'IS or Admiral, but when this occurred isn't clear.

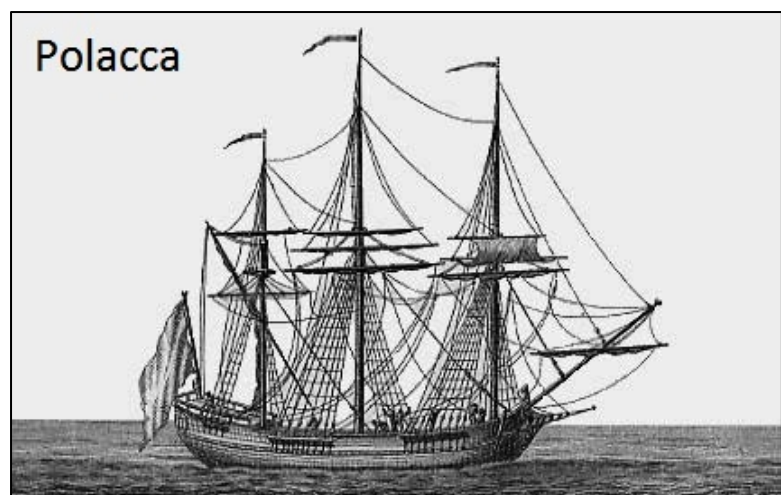
Just as European towns of this time had, there was a *Governor* of a city and a *Captain* of the castle, or kasbah – these two positions are often confused with each other and it is hard to determine exactly which title the *Diwán* had control over but it is thought that they elected the Governor and the SULTAN continued to appoint the Captain of the kasbah. This autonomy allowed the *Diwán* to negotiate treaties with nations; this provision allowed ZIDAN to negotiate with European powers and claim that he was not responsible for acts committed by the REPUBLIC'S fleet, which, technically, he wasn't. I believe that this idea was actually cooked up between ZIDAN and our ancestor JAN as it was beneficial to both of them. The absence of prize money going to ZIDAN does not equate with the absence of authority as some have written; money still flowed to ZIDAN, just as gifts and pledges from the *Diwán* rather than awards from the Prize Court. This was the key to its survival; a rebelling brother who attacked Salee could expect strong resistance from the REPUBLIC and, even if conquered, couldn't depend on an income as the Prize Court allotted nothing to the SULTAN. Between 1609 and 1616 the *Salee Rovers*, as they were dubbed by English writers, captured 466 English merchant ships.

By the time JAN had set himself up in Salee in 1611 or 1612 there was a brisk trade in the triangular route from the western European sailing powers – Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, England and France in the main – to the west coast of Africa, across the ‘middle passage’ to the Caribbean and South American ports and thence back to Europe. Tenerife in the Canary Islands was a busy first-stop port-of-call where captains obtained the latest information on trade conditions across the Atlantic for, at this time, these conditions changed at an alarming rate. Salee, being positioned along the first leg of the voyages, was well-cited to harass European shipping before it ever reached the first port. From its port protected by the sand bar, the pirate fleet could easily sail out, strike and retreat to the harbors safety with very little danger. As time passed, ships and sailing ability improved which allowed for longer and more profitable pirate-runs. These runs would, naturally, head north towards the point of origin of their targets to the point where the southbound ships would round the southern coast of Portugal before aiming for the Canaries. Here the shipping lanes would be more congested and, therefore, more lucrative. This northward progression of the pirates advanced and progressed to land raids on the European continent with Spain, Portugal and the south coast of England especially vulnerable. Assisting in the raids was the existence of several well-known pirate ‘nests’ where the crews could take refuge if needed. JAN commanded a small pirate fleet, perhaps 10 ships, at first; as his success grew so did the size of his fleet. JAN’s intelligence and courage usually the stated reason for the stunning business growth in the REPUBLIC’S finances during its early years as well as later on.

The REPUBLIC may owe more to its Dutch minority than has hitherto been recognized. The Dutch not only brought with them their highly organized skills of republican government but also the know-how to build the high-masted sailing ships, such as the *polacca* pictured on the previous page, required to master the ocean. While further research is necessary, I propose that it was the Dutch that set the nascent REPUBLIC on firm-footing that allowed it to not-only survive, but thrive. The REPUBLIC prospered and its leaders became wealthy because their main source of income was the plundered gold, silver, spices, silks, fabrics and slaves brought back from their raids on European shipping vessels and towns. Sensing the danger from Saletian pirates would continue to grow, the Spaniards gained control of a fortress that ZIDAN began building in 1612 about 20 miles north of Salee at al-Ma’mura and finished it in 1614.

1616 – 1620: ALGIERS

Once again we are confronted with a hazy move to Algiers – this “move” may have been, in fact, an extended raiding voyage done in concert with the Algerian corsairs. Two stories about our ancestor have come down over the centuries and each has some truth to it. The most often repeated story is that JAN was captured by corsairs from Algiers in 1618; while not entirely accurate, it is close to what happened. The second story is that he sailed as a pilot with another



Dutch renegade who was the ADMIRAL of Algiers, IVAN DIRKIE VAN VEENBOER, aka SULĚYMAN RA'IS. This is what places JAN in Algiers in 1617.

SULĚYMAN had over fifty ships in his corsair fleet at Algiers, divided in squadrons. SULĚYMAN had trained a decade earlier under another famous Dutch renegade, SIMON DE DANSER, DIABLO RA'IS to the Algerines, who we will encounter again in Salee. SULĚYMAN had become ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET OF ALGIERS in 1617. The great corsair fleets were making the conversion from man-powered oars to wind-powered sail. Sailing under SULĚYMAN, JAN managed to work himself up to the position of quartermaster, responsible for navigation. SULĚYMAN was replaced as ADMIRAL by MUSTAPHA RA'IS in 1618; he was probably forced to do so. Whatever JAN'S relationship was with SULĚYMAN RA'IS it is clear that when the latter stopped sailing in 1618, JAN had maintained some degree of status in the Republic of Salee. This fact alone in no way precludes JAN from benefiting from the generosity of SULĚYMAN RA'IS, it just casts it in a different light. The oft-told story of JAN assuming command of the retiring SULĚYMAN'S fleet just doesn't ring true for two reasons: the timing is off as detailed below and SULĚYMAN never retired; he was detained due to war and was soon cruising the Mediterranean for prizes. SULĚYMAN met his end on 10 October 1620 in the harbor at Cartagena when a cannonball claimed both legs.

To understand what happened to JAN, we must know what was happening in Algiers between 1616 and 1618. In 1612 SULTAN AHMED I issued the United Provinces Capitulations which granted the Dutch free and unfettered access to all Ottoman ports; more importantly both nations agreed to only stop enemy ships during times of war; ships of neutral nations were not subject to *visit and search* and even shipping of the enemies friends was safe unless they too were a declared enemy. Further, all cargo on neutral ships was safe from confiscation unless it was contraband. The Capitulations also explicitly banned all piratical activity against Dutch ships by *any* adherent of Islam – *anywhere* in the world – it was a pretty radical concept, even if it proved unenforceable (See Appendix 2). However Dutch merchant ships were being taken with increasing frequency all along the Barbary Coast but most noticeably by the corsairs from Algiers. Appeals from The Hague to the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman central government) in Constantinople offered no help, only a response from the Ottoman SULTAN that his Capitulations were enforceable by him *where he could do so*. He suggested that they make separate treaties with his provinces and even stated that it was the States-General responsibility to do so! So they did – with all 3 Barbary States – all with no lasting effect; the number of merchant ships captured and taken to Algiers increased. At least the negotiators had come away from Constantinople with the understanding that, while not actually making any agreement, the Ottoman Navy was not heading to the Western Mediterranean anytime soon. So the States-General called for a Dutch Naval fleet to the coast of Algiers to protect their shipping in 1616, and again in 1617 (see Appendix 3: The Dutch-Algerian War of 1618 for a full discussion). This is the same time that JAN was sailing these waters under SULĚYMAN it raises the question: was he there at the request of the States-General? The second fleet returned home in March 1618 and their reports showed that greater action was required. Soon thereafter the Dutch allied with their former, and future, enemy, Spain and agreed to conduct a joint naval attack on Algiers. It is believed the States-General of the United Provinces issued a declaration of war against the Regency of Algiers just before their third fleet sailed to join their Spanish allies in May 1618. SULĚYMAN was replaced by MUSTAPHA RA'IS as ADMIRAL. On the 2nd of July the combined naval fleet engaged the corsair fleet; the battle raged until the next day by which time 12 corsair ships were “defeated” – whether they were sunk, captured, damaged beyond repair or set aflame isn't stated. This Dutch

third fleet returned home in February 1619. A fourth fleet, the largest one identified so far with at least 13 ships, sailed in May 1619 and lasted a year and a half, returning in October 1620. It may have been this fleet that bombarded the city, nearly leveling it. Hostilities were ended in part because the United Provinces had a much bigger worry – war with the Spanish Empire resumed in 1621. While a Declaration of War has yet to be found, its existence can be inferred by the existence of the treaty between Algiers and the States-General dated 6 October 1622. One oddity was that the release of Dutch captives was predicated upon securing release of 12 Turks being held on Malta.

This completely changed the situation for JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM, from sailing with the ADMIRAL to being an enemy of the state. Technically he could be considered a citizen of the United Provinces and not just any ordinary citizen either. He was sailing with the Regency's ADMIRAL, another Dutchman, and was known to be an accomplished privateer – in other words he posed a possible threat to the Regency. This fact alone was grounds for detention under the accepted rules of war – grounds that appear to have been used. The Dutch former ADMIRAL SULĚYMAN stops sailing at this time and it can be surmised he suffered a similar detention. The detainment was more akin to a house-arrest situation; they were prevented from sailing but not prevented from living in luxury and free movement about town.¹⁴ JAN's ship was impounded, his crew detained. After a careful vetting of his crew, if enough were freed, they probably sailed his ship back to Salee. JAN and SULĚYMAN were definitely not imprisoned; such a move could rouse the ire of the corsairs which, as the navy for the Regency, they could not afford to alienate. Undoubtedly there were appeals forthcoming from the *diwān* of the REPUBLIC OF SALEE protesting the detaining of their head-of-state as well as SULTAN ZIDAN calling for JAN's release invoking the Qur'an's prohibition against enslaving a fellow Muslim. The Regency may have even received some terse letters from the central Ottoman government, the Sublime Porte – their little war was putting a lot of their income in jeopardy. JAN was detained for over a year as it appears SULĚYMAN was. Both are back in records in 1620 and this most likely the time SULĚYMAN gave JAN a ship, probably a *polacca*, to sail back to Salee.

To recap: JAN, a Dutch linen-merchant/ship's captain is captured by pirates, or by some other manner, ends up in Algiers by the end of the 1590s where he stayed 3 or 4 years; going to Cartagena around 1601, he meets MARGARITA, a Muslim of Berber descent and decides to marry, which required him to convert to Islam. In 1609 they move to Fez for a couple of years, followed by Marrakech. With the SULTAN's consent, JAN assumes control of the port city of Salee as the elected governor of the REPUBLIC OF SALEE. Around 1616 JAN headed to Algiers where he sails under SULĚYMAN RA'IS and learns how to sail larger corsair ships and how to command several squadrons in a fleet. His family probably stayed in Salee during this time. While in Algiers, open warfare breaks out between the Regency and the United Provinces and JAN, being Dutch, is detained by authorities until early 1620. Upon his release he sails back to the REPUBLIC in one of SULĚYMAN's ships.

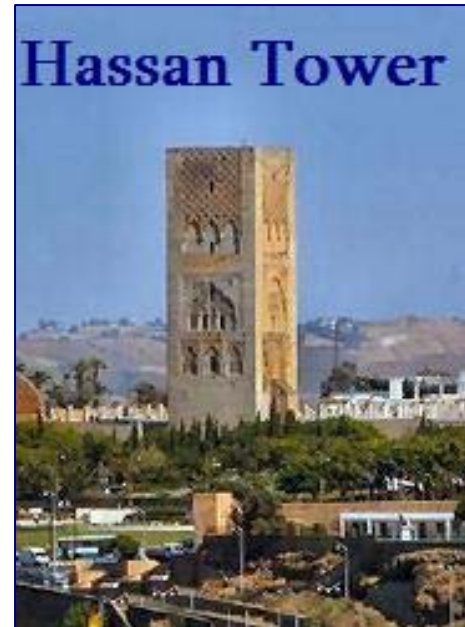
1620 – 1628: SALEE

Upon his release Jan returned to Salee where it seems he resumed a prominent position in the REPUBLIC's *Diwān*. This is probably when he entered the lucrative business of disposing of the booty that was carried on prizes brought into the port of Salee. There already was a formidable force in this business in Salee – SIMON DE DANSER. Not the famed Dutch privateer who, as DIABLO RA'IS, trained SULĚYMAN RA'IS (who JAN sailed, and was detained, with) but his son of

the same name. SENIOR used Salee as his base for corsair operations in the 1610s and undoubtedly knew JAN from that time. He also started dealing in buying and selling cargo and was the dominant dealer by 1620. JUNIOR took over this business in the early 1620s and JAN'S first forays were limited to the overflow that JUNIOR couldn't handle, which was still a significant amount. But as the amount of booty brought into port decreased they came into direct competition more and more.

A lot had happened in the 4 years JAN was gone. The *Maraboutic Crises* was worsening for ZIDAN. He could not maintain his position on the throne without help from YAHYA BIN 'ABDULLA AL-HAHI, the *marabout* of Mount Duran in the High Atlas. This dependency, while keeping ZIDAN in power, severely weakened his power.

One of the observable effects of this weakening of government was seen in the REPUBLIC OF SALEE. By the time Jan returned the REPUBLIC expanded across the river to include Rabat and was now called the REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG. When the statement that the REPUBLIC operated *under the Hassan Tower* is encountered, it is the 1620s being discussed. The Hassan Tower is in Rabat and, apparently, the *Diwán* moved from Salee to Rabat. The REPUBLIC expanded and managed to take the Spanish fortress 20 miles north at al-Ma'mura for a short period; at one point the REPUBLIC had some sort of alliance with Tāzā, on the Mediterranean coast, north of Fez but the nature of the alliance and its duration are unknown.¹⁵ This REPUBLIC became home to the famed, and greatly feared, *Salée Rovers*, as the British dubbed them. The REPUBLIC continued in one form or another until 1640 at least and it was resurrected later on an "as needed" basis.



The REPUBLIC'S success was due, in part, to the marabout named AL-'AYASHI. AL-'AYASHI was ZIDAN'S appointed Governor of Azamor, a town in the Doukela Province just north of Spanish-held Mazagan. AL-'AYASHI built a strong military force and unsuccessfully attacked the Spanish-held port; somehow the Spaniards managed to convince ZIDAN that AL-'AYASHI threatened his throne; he responded by sending a force from Marrakesh in 1614 to capture AL-'AYASHI. He eluded capture and headed north taking refuge in Salee. AL-'AYASHI found strong support among the Dutch and Jewish merchants. He convinced Rabat's Andalusian community to form their own Republic and then to merge with the one at Salee. This benefited everyone: pirate voyages were more lucrative, AL-'AYASHI remained out of the reach of the Sultan and the REPUBLIC'S financial and military resources were enormous. The short-lived, competing *Hornachero Republic (1627 – 1637)* is discussed later.

Around this time the standard for custom's duties in Morocco was: 15% *mangona* (import tax); 10% *decime* for the Sultan personally; and 1.5 % *intalacca* for salaries of government officials. In Salee, a second *decime* of 10% was payable to the REPUBLIC'S *Diwán* – but both were not always collected. If questioned, the merchant would produce a receipt reflecting the payment of the Sultan's *decime* to the official government in Salee. The Sultan would admit to not being the head of the official government in Salee and there the matter would lie. Between 1618 and 1626, it has been estimated that the *Salée Rovers* brought goods worth £15 million *at that time* into

port. This figure does not include the value of the estimated 6,000 slaves that were captured during these raids and sold in town. My earlier assertion of Dutch origins for the REPUBLIC is not meant to belittle the contributions of the more numerous Moriscos or to deny the fact that the Andalusian expatriate population came to be the elite class of the REPUBLIC for most of its existence; it is only made to explain the predominance of the Dutch in its early life and its success as a business for which the Dutch are renowned. In this, I am not alone; recent scholarship indicates that while the rovers were mostly Andalusian refugees, the organizers and leaders of the Republic were in fact Dutch and English. Their usual range of operation was the Atlantic between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Azores, Madeira, and the Canary Islands. They did raid much further on occasion, to the English Channel, Ireland and even Iceland but their main target was Spanish shipping and their location was ideal for interrupting the trade routes from Spain to South America.

We now come to a period of JAN'S life that is rather well-documented; letters from the Moroccan Ambassador at The Hague mention him as do those of other diplomats; mention of him is found in a 1910 work published by the Dutch government¹⁶ as well as a 23-volume biography of CLAES G. COMPAAN (1587 – 1660) published in 1735.¹⁷ The 1910 work shows that JAN JANSEN was at Salee at various times between 1600 and 1630. The 1735 multivolume work by NICHOLAES VAN WASSENAER details the maritime career of the sea rover CLAES G. COMPAAN (1587 – 1660) and his companion and later rival, JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM. COMPAAN is said to have sold over 300 prizes at Salee, most through SIMON, JUNIOR. But because of the large number involved, COMPAAN sold some of the overflow through our ancestor which ticked off JUNIOR – he attacked COMPAAN'S ships at anchor in Salee's harbor! COMPAAN is said to have made a gift of a 12-gun ship to JAN when he left Salee as a thank-you for being his fence for thousands of guilders of booty. VAN WASSENAER was not a fan of JAN as a translation of page 9 of his work shows:

JAN JANSZ, of Haarlem, was with one of the Holland pirates; he behaved strangely, and coarsely disregarded his commission: took all he could catch ; spared none of the vessels of his own country; carried his prizes to Salee to sell his booty: there he became a renegade Mamelucas, derided Christianity, and after changing his religion persuaded many Christian slaves to change theirs too, to the desertion of the salvation which is through Christ; he was worse than any Turk; according to the proverb, a renegade Christian is the bitterest Mohammedan.

He married at Salee a woman, deserting his own wife and children, whom he had left at Haarlem; went from small things to greater, up to an admiral at sea; was favored by the king of Morocco with the benefit of anchorage, pilotage, and port fees, which yielded a good sum annually. When he first became acquainted with COMPAAN, he invited him to his ship....

The fact that JAN was elected again to govern the now enlarged REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG supports my premise that Dutch, and a growing number of English, renegades were the real power behind the formation of the REPUBLIC. Over the years that JAN was gone ZIDAN'S power waned while that of the REPUBLIC waxed. He was forced on the early REPUBLIC by ZIDAN who could have mustered a military force that could defeat his rebellious subjects. The REPUBLIC that JAN returned to was definitely more independent and it continued in that vane for some years. Some writers change JAN'S title from GOVERNOR to PRESIDENT just around this time. This makes

sense as the first was under the SULTAN's control, hence the title GOVERNOR; after independence PRESIDENT was a more appropriate title for the head-of-state of a REPUBLIC.

Shortly after leaving Algiers in early 1620, JAN met a Dutch man-of-war in the area of Malaga, a Mediterranean port city in Spain, perhaps in SULEYMAN's *polacca*. According to the Dutch consul in Algiers, when the ship saw the corsairs it altered course, sailed for them, and raised the red flag (meaning no quarter will be given, *i.e.* no life spared). Seeing this, JAN turned and fled from the ship which turned out to be a courageous merchant and not a man-of-war after all. How reliable the story is, coming from the Dutch consul who was being held a virtual prisoner in Algiers during the war is unknown. Not long after this, in June and July of 1620, JAN was again capturing ships.¹⁸ Supposedly a letter written in 1622 from the Dutch Special Envoy to Algiers and Tunis, PROFESSOR CORNELIS PYNACKER, includes a list of the principal corsair captains which, translated by DEGROOT, includes: "Kör (member) MURAD REIS, originally called JAN JANSZ from Haarlem."¹⁹ Now we arrive at one of the more interesting occurrences on the domestic front, sort of. During November 1622 JAN was sailing with two ships that were damaged while sailing in the North Atlantic. He entered the port of Veere in Zeeland in the southern Netherlands and requested permission to dock to complete the necessary repairs. The eleven-year truce between the Spanish Empire and the United Provinces had expired the previous year and the authorities granted his request as Morocco and his *Republic* had been on friendly terms with the Netherlands since the previous year. Repairs were quick as on 14 December JAN met the new Special Dutch Ambassador ALBERT CORNELIUS RUYL on his way to Morocco and they sailed to Salee together. RUYL's journal entries continue with the following day when members of the Dutch party went ashore and, after being rowed back by renegades "*all of whom are under command of JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM,*" found that the "*Governor and Secretary of Salee command 20%*" of booty for the upkeep of the kasbah and soldiers; there is a 15% tax on all merchandise and on the "*Moorish harvest*" and these have been "*granted by the King of Morocco who receives nothing.*" "*CAPTAIN JOHN,*" the previously named JAN JANSEN, has freed 15 Dutch – 13 men and 2 boys – and "*some*" English. RUYL writes that everyone agrees that JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM "*is a great help to the Dutch.*"²⁰ RUYL writes on 17 February 1623 that JAN sent 17 more English captives.

JAN was back in Veere with a damaged ship again in spring 1623, when Dutch authorities are said to have brought his wife SOUTGEN and his daughter LYSBETH, and any more children they had, to the docks at Veere to try to convince him to return home. They pleaded to no avail.



Instead, a number of Dutch seamen join JAN's crew against the wishes of the Dutch government. It strikes this writer as odd that JAN'S wife and 28-year-old daughter could be found on such short notice some 25 or more years after JAN lived with them and then brought to Veere; more research is needed into this reported occurrence. It is often repeated that JAN, despite his second marriage and family, never shirked his financial responsibility to his first wife and family, regularly sending large sums of money so they had want of nothing. Leaving Veere, he attacked several French ships, a distinct possibility as it is known that France did not have a treaty with the Algerian regency government and it is doubtful that Morocco or the REPUBLIC did.

ISAAC PLIAJI sent a letter dated 13 April 1623 from Salee to update the States-General: through his and JAN JANSEN'S intervention with the "governor of the castle" all Dutch sailors brought in on Dutch prizes recently were freed. He requests that the PRINCE OF ORANGE provide commissions to all captains who are citizens of the United Provinces, probably hoping to get the same cooperation with others as he got from JAN.²¹ The States-General sent a letter dated 20 July 1623 to the Governor of Salee requesting restoration of the armed merchant ship *The Good Adventure* based in Rotterdam. They present the facts as they know them: JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM, captain of a warship, captured *The Good Adventure* off the coast of Portugal. A prize crew of French sailors intended for sale as slaves, was put aboard and the ship taken to Salee. Upon further investigation the States-General issued a statement: *no ships carrying contraband to Spain would be reclaimed if taken to Salee*. While not mentioning *The Good Adventure*, the timing of this statement coupled with dropping the reclamation attempts gives us a pretty good idea what had happened. It seems that DAVID PLIAJI (son of the SULTAN'S friend JOSEPH) had pushed through the shipment of arms and munitions that were headed for Spain, enemy of the States-General since the 12-year truce expired in 1621. JAN had taken the correct action by preventing the shipment of contraband from reaching its destination; it's not mentioned if DAVID PLIAJI was fined or penalized for siding with the enemy. Besides Spain, Morocco was a frequent destination of guns and munitions for ZIDAN and his many enemies. The civil war and Marboutic Crises has everyone building up weapons stores. At one point RUYL intercepted some destined for ZIDAN'S enemies but the States-General made him pay for them. ZIDAN defended RUYL, and demanded that the States-General put an end to the gun smuggling aboard their ships or face being penalized.

Meanwhile RUYL'S trip to the Sultan's court continued: ALBERT CORNELIUS RUYL, a minor trader of the Dutch East India Company and a secretary at The Hague, was named Special Ambassador to Morocco in 1622 and 1623 and sent to ZIDAN to study and report back on the feasibility of a new port city (reviving MOSES PLIAJI 10-year-old plans) in the south at Aïer; the report was not favorable to the locations suggested. By the 1620s Safi in the southern Abda Province was the only Atlantic port remaining under ZIDAN'S control. The northern ports were controlled by *marabouts*, notably AL-'AYASHI; Larache and al-Ma'mura were in Spanish hands; Mazagan was held by the Portugese and Salee was virtually independent. He needed another port. JAN JANSEN suggested that, with the construction of a dike, Azemmour could be a good port. This worried the Spanish who, through the use of the French agent SAINT-MANDRIER, quashed the plans. JAN was furious and accused the Frenchman of being a Spanish spy, which he was; he was later executed. In 1623 ZIDAN mounted his first, and only, serious military excursion against the REPUBLIC which failed miserably. He tried to save-face on the diplomatic front – he appointed JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM as his GOVERNOR of Salee in 1624. Along with the empty

appointment came another “plum” – one of ZIDAN’s 1,000+ daughters!! Well.....maybe. JAN did marry a third time, to a SULTAN’S daughter but no record of her name or that of her father is known to exist. After pouring over thousands of sources and arranging and rearranging the known and almost-known facts, the times when a reigning SULTAN needed JAN’S help number just two. This is the first of the two: 1623 – 1624 when ZIDAN needed to repair the damage done by his failed military attack.

French ADMIRAL ISAAC DE RAZILLY (1587 – 1635) was put in charge of a French embassy in 1624 charged with resolving the affair of ZIDAN’S library being stolen by the French Consul. They fared poorly as RAZILLY was imprisoned and put in chains before agreeing to unspecified items, the violation of which would imperil the lives of the captives he had to leave behind as security. The ADMIRAL retaliated by shelling the harbor without regard to those captives he left behind as security against just such action; they remained in prison for years because of RAZILLY.²²

On 18 August 1624 MOSES PLIAJI wrote a letter to the States-General the “*CAPTAIN MORATO ARRAIS of Salee*” had arrived at ZIDAN’S court and secured document that guaranteed the safety of Dutch persons and goods coming into Salee and prevented the enslavement of any Dutch person.²³

On 14 October 1624 while sailing off of Cape Finisterre on the northwest coast of Spain the Saletian privateer EL HAJJ ALI seized two Dutch ships with Dutch cargo under the command of CAPTAIN EUWOUT HENDRICXZ. HENDRICXZ was told by ALI that unless he declared the cargo to be French, a legitimate prize, he would be thrown overboard. He complied until he appeared before the Admiral of Salee, presumably JAN. To the Admiral HENDRICXZ stated he had told ALI the cargo was Dutch but ALI threatened his life so he claimed the cargo was French. He was given freight of equal value and allowed to return home, on other ships. In December 1624 the States-General wrote to ZIDAN requesting the return of the two seized ships that were still being held. The outcome is not known. Morocco’s ambassador to the States-General stated that ships leaving Salee *en course* or as part of a corsair fleet, are given a commission or *lettre-du-marque* from the unnamed admiral but because the United Provinces is the only nation with which they are at peace, getting a *lettre-du-mark* is often overlooked and that is the reason corsairs from Salee more-often-than-not are not carrying commissions on them. While not named, JAN JANSEN is likely to be the person referenced as the Admiral.

Notice a common thread that runs through these communications – the REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG seems less-and-less independent in fact as the actions of the Salee corsairs are appealed to ZIDAN rather than any President or Governor of the REPUBLIC.

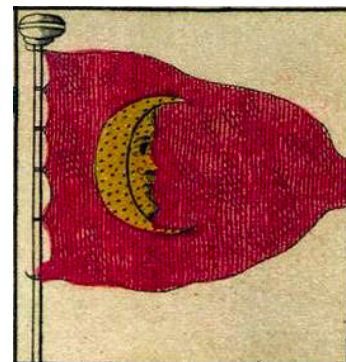
In July 1625 JAN sent an itemized bill to the States-General for repairing and provisioning the Dutch ship *Vliegende Hart* which he signed “MOERETTERES” his phonetic version of MORAT RA’IS no doubt. The bill was refused.²⁴

During February 1626 JAN fell victim to one of his own ploys when he was sailing three ships in the North Sea. He spied a fat prize flying the Dutch flag and one ship pulled alongside allowing fifty of his men to board. The Dutch flag was hauled down, a Spanish one hoisted and suddenly the decks were swarming with Spanish soldiers. The “prize” turned out to be a Spanish privateer from Dunkirk. After a tough fight, in which several crewmen were killed and many wounded, this ship was captured by the Spanish. JAN managed to beat a hasty retreat with his two remaining vessels which were heavily damaged. One ship managed to sail into the Maas River in

Holland where the ice was broken through and the dead crew “buried.” The second ship which was more heavily damaged made it to Amsterdam but the port authorities denied permission to disembark his injured crew members – perhaps because of his attack on a ship flying the Dutch flag. JAN managed to sell the wreck in Amsterdam and made his way to the one remaining ship in the Mass River and sailed for home. He returned to Veere in 1626 after capturing a Spanish ship where he apparently sold it.

Raids on the English coast were also numerous at this time with Cornwall and Devon being especially hard hit which resulted in a short-lived truce with KING CHARLES I. JOHN HARRISON was sent to reestablish good Anglo-Moroccan relations and he arrived in Salee on 4 March 1627 with cannons and munitions, signed a treaty with the REPUBLIC and obtained the release of 190 English captives.²⁵ HARRISON embarked on a Dutch ship and “*for additional security, the governor of the castle had sent CAPTAIN JOHN, a Dutch renegade but great friend of the English nation, to see him off in safety ...*” HARRISON lost his escort for a couple days but ran into JAN again with more ships – he had captured two merchant ships from Hamburg sailing from Malaga, Spain. The five English merchantmen on the prizes were turned over to HARRISON. The following year HARRISON returned to find Salee torn by factions. “*Fortunately CAPTAIN JOHN, ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET AT SALE, arrived from Tunis, bringing with him another Saint, the Saint of Chelle, near Sale, who had been on pilgrimage to Mecca.*” The Saint was able to affect a peace between the Andalusians and the Hornacheros that called for two governors – one for each group. CAPTAIN JOHN’S skills were called upon when, due to a miscalculation, HARRISON’S ship shot a salute which came close to a Spanish man-of-war. The warship shot at the English ship but was convinced to not pursue them by JAN.

The symbiotic relationship between the Sultanate and the REPUBLIC is shown in these and following by the official actions, but is also made apparent through personal acts: JAN’S son ANTHONY left Salee in the mid-1620s for Amsterdam; before leaving ZIDAN presented him with a gift: a handwritten copy of the Qur’an that was exquisitely illustrated, bound in the finest leather and covered with gilt lettering and semiprecious stones that had been made for his father AL-MANSUR in 1594. ZIDAN’S own identical copy now rests in the Escorial, the monastery/palace of FELIPE III north of Madrid. This gift would be hard to explain if the two were adversaries.



In February 1627 the States-General requests that ZIDAN have the Governor of Salee make restitution to CAPTAIN GILES JACOBZ of a ship and to Middleberg and deVere merchants for their cargo. The ship was headed to Salee to sell the cargo and ransom some captives when it was boarded by CAPTAIN ALARACHE at *37 degrees less 15 minutes latitude* on a ship that was half-owned by CAPTAIN JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM, *Admiral of your Majesty*. They also sent a letter directly to JAN on 16 February to which he responded:

Nobles, Valliants, Very Discreet Lords States-General

The letter of the 16 February 1627 of your Lords has been handed to me August 11 by CAPTAIN GILES JACOBZ when he came from a sea trip. It tells me of the

violation of the alliance between His Royal Majesty and the Lords Estates committed by CAPTAIN ALARACHE and his men.

The fault was not that of the CAPTAIN, but of his men who were in revolt against him. I have used all my efforts to produce an accord with CAPTAIN GILES JACOBSZ. The result is that the said JACOBSZ has been willing to renounce all action for damage and interest.

I was distressed that anyone would abuse my orders and violate the treaty of alliance which has been concluded between the powerful Lords Estates and His Royal Highness, MOULAY ZIDAN. I vow to my death to act favorably toward my fatherland, to assist and to honor it. But I can do no more than I have done, because all the people here are in revolt against the King. God knows what will come to pass.

On this, I commend you to the Lord All Powerful.

Your good friend,

Moeraetteres

12 August 1627 at Sale²⁶



ZIDAN died on 20 September 1627 starting the usual period of brotherly warring for the throne. The government's power and authority, always tenuous at best, was further eroded in the *Gharb* (the Atlantic littoral area that included the REPUBLIC).

The French ADMIRAL ISAAC DE RAZILLY returned in late July 1629 with a fleet composed of the ships *Licorne*, *Saint-Louis*, *Griffon*, *Catherine*, *Hambourg*, *Sainte-Anne* and *Saint-Jean*. On the way he met "the Admiral of Sale, MORAT RAIS" in a caravel at dawn near al-Ma'mura which he forced to ground and took many Moors captive. RAZILLY bombarded the city of Salee and sank three corsair vessels.

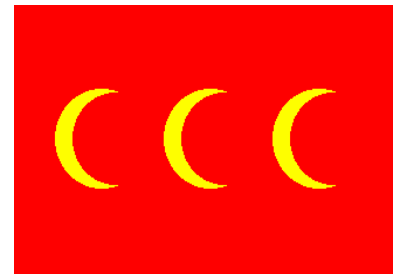
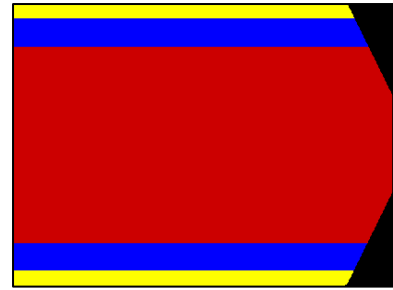
On 2 August "MORAT RAYS, Admiral of their vessels" begged RAZILLY for a passport to allow one of his ships out of the blockaded port on condition it would not attack any French vessel which was granted. Treaty negotiations were concluded on the 20th when a 6-year truce was signed, followed by celebrations hosted at JAN's house.

JAN is credited by some scholars to have increased the size of the pirate fleet by building about seventeen fast sailing ships called *polaccas*. The *polacca* sailed with a crew of up to seventy-five and was armed with 24 small-bore, cannons. These numbers compare favorably with the *caravelles* from Algiers that had about the same number of cannon but required four times the men for rowing.

The Salee Rovers were not above using subterfuge to gain their prizes. At a time when some European countries had peace treaties with the Algerian Regency JAN is known to have ordered his fleet to fly the Algerian flag (*pictured on the next page at top is the 1685 flag of Algiers*). The flag on the previous page as well as the two on this one have been attributed to Salee but the source for that information isn't identified.²⁷ The "Salee rouge" represents their



“no quarter given” (no lives spared) flag. The flag that JAN sailed under isn’t known for certain but a couple of descriptions survive. All are on a red background; one had three gold crescent moons but this was also the flag of the Ottoman Empire (*right center*); the second had one crescent moon and a dancing figure, both in gold; a third as “the red half-moon of the Turks.”²⁸ Coming aside a supposed ally, the flag would be struck and that of the REPUBLIC hoisted and another prize would be added to the coffers of the REPUBLIC. JAN would often hoist the Dutch flag (*right bottom*) on his ship or any other if that what was needed to change a potential prize into a real one. Of course flying the Dutch flag could mean you were sailing for the Dutch West India Company who, in 1628, had one of the most successful, and feared, privateering fleet of any government. In September of that year the Dutch privateer fleet, 31 ships, 689 cannon and 3,800 sailors, captured the Spanish silver fleet in the Straits of Florida and returned to Amsterdam with 11.5 million florins in treasure. But pirates and privateers weren’t the only ships to hoist false flags - warships flying the flag of a friendly nation would suddenly, when within cannon shot, strike those colors and hoist their true ones – and promptly try to take or sink their opponent.



What is astonishing is the amount of travel and commerce that successfully reached their anticipated, or at least friendly, ports. In 2012 a Moroccan resident named TAHIR SHAH uploaded a description of a journey he made with his daughter to locate the home of JAN JANSEN in Salee to his website; I have extracted the parts wherein he describes landmarks in the town which may point future travelers to the same place. While I find it highly suspect that the mere mention of JAN’S name still brings recognition, let alone directions to the ruins of his abode, stranger things have happened. MR. SHAH *approached Salee from the coast* and found himself in an *immense and ancient burial ground*. At the edge of the cemetery was a *low, honey-yellow stone fortress built into the seawall and called the Sqala*. Within the fortress were *rusted iron cannons* and others of *bronze, lizard-green with verdigris, still trained on the horizon*. Each one had a different crest which he interpreted as being *captured by pirates* otherwise they would all bear the same crest. A policeman escorted MR. SHAH and his daughter to the dungeon of the *Sqala* where they saw *a truly miserable cell which looked as though it had been quite recently used*. Their escort told his guests *that the last prisoner had been forgotten, and had starved to death*. To find JAN’S home they were told to go to *the old city*, a $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{4}$ mile area surrounded by a 30’ wall with square towers every 50’ or so. The policeman wrote down an address for them to find (one which MR. SHAH neglected to share). Passing *through the Bab Maalqa Gate* into the southwest corner of the walled medina, they were soon directed to *the Great Mosque, built in the glorious twelfth century Almohad style* with a different door for each day of the week. They wound their way through several *whitewashed lanes* to a *spacious square, the Souq el Gazelle, the Wool Market*. Here was where *slaves had once been sold, having been dragged ashore from captured ships*. They wandered *through the Mellah, the old Jewish quarter*, and were directed to *the crumbling façade of a building*. Once plastered, the dressed stone was exposed, ravaged by the elements. A fig tree had



taken hold and was growing out from the side, and the studded wooden door was falling to bits. According to the address given by the policeman at the *Sqala* to MR. SHAH, this was once the home of JAN JANSEN. Perhaps one day, armed with this description, this author will locate the same building.²⁹

At the end of ZIDAN'S reign the inland Tafilalet region was under the control of the ALAOUITES who would replace the SAADIAN dynasty in about 3 decades and the Ottomans had managed to press the border of Algiers west past Oujda. In 1628 Morocco was hit by famine again made worse, during the famines second year a deadly epidemic, possibly the bubonic plague, added to the devastation. Son Anthony had moved to Amsterdam a few years earlier and son Abraham may have

joined his brother there; the whereabouts of the other two are not known. Looks like a good time to move.....

1627 – 1637: THE FLY IN THE OINTMENT: THE *HORNACHERO* REPUBLIC

Anyone reading about this time period will undoubtedly learn about the *Hornachero Republic*. Forewarned is forearmed: most of what you find available is balderdash. Every Hornachero enthusiast and/or self-appointed expert blindly assumes that *any* mention of a Republic means the *Hornachero Republic* (just as America is used when United States is meant) which greatly exaggerates every aspect of this Republic's brief existence.

Another factor that probably influenced JAN'S decision to leave Salee was the disorder caused by refugees from Hornachos, a small town in the Extremadura region of western Spain. The Hornacheros had difficulty doing just about anything: they fled their hometown in 1609 and, despite being among co-religionists, found little acceptance in North Africa. Assimilation was difficult due to the cultural gap between them and the Barbary Coast Muslims – they drank wine, after all it was their own ancestors that made Extremadura wines famous; men dressed in black (ever see an Arab on camel-back wearing black? I didn't think so.); women wore white shawls without veils (still not tolerated 400 years later)! So, chased out of town, brutalized by the Spanish military, forced to leave via vermin-filled ports, a target for every crook who knew his victims could not complain to authorities; forced to sail in boats not much better than a leaky barrel with no food and looking forward to a future among co-religionists – they arrived to greetings of rocks, curses and slurs! Disappointed, the Hornacheros heard of a town that had large empty sections caused by the last epidemic of plague – its name was Salee. They settled in an older part of town that was separated from the rest by the Plaza de la Higuera. Even with this limited isolation, they chafed under the continuing harassment from the largest group of Spanish refugees, the *Moriscos*, meaning refugees from Andalusia, who held many of the positions of authority in town. Hoping for greater opportunities, the Hornacheros moved to Rabat. Another group of Spanish refugees in Salee they had conflicts with were from Valencia. They were much

poorer than the Andalusians so their antagonism was mainly verbal insults. The Hornacheros, who didn't speak Spanish, never did get a grasp on all the gibberish being thrown at them by the Valencians. The Hornachero community in Rabat was centered on the neighborhood surrounding the kasbah des Oudaïa (fortaleza de los Udaia) known as the *fortaleza*. Soon thereafter, their gibberish-yelling neighbors in Salee moved to Rabat's Old Medina section next to the kasbah (guess whatever they were yelling it meant something like "You're such great guys that we'll move wherever you decide to live.") The Hornacheros never "assumed the reins of government in Salee" – they were shunned and treated poorly in the short time they were in Salee; they certainly never garnered any power.

Hornachero enthusiasts love to claim the REPUBLIC was a result of the aristocracy of Salee asking to join the *Hornachero Republic* of Rabat. The REPUBLIC existed for 5 years before the Hornacheros tried to emulate them. The enlargement of the REPUBLIC OF SALEE was the result of adding the Andalusian community, the Hornacheros' nemesis. The REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG (REPÚBLICA DE LAS DOS ORILLAS) came into existence around 1620 or so. These same enthusiasts make the claim that AL-'AYASHI, the marabout who remains highly revered in Morocco, was instrumental in the creation of the *Hornachero Republic*. No, he was instrumental in the formation of the competition years earlier, the REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG. Enthusiasts also err in their claim that the *Hornachero Republic* established an international relationship with England in 1627. The international relation established at that time was between England and the REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG. Growing violence in Salee during April 1627 spills across the river where many Andalusians are killed but these events are not the imagined ousting of the ruling class by the Hornacheros as some claim. The REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG, with its strong Andalusian presence, tolerated this upstart for a decade before shutting it down.

1628 – 1630: ALGIERS

The warring sons undoubtedly caused much of this deterioration, however the SAÂDIAN shadow seems to be always hovering in the background, manipulating the strings of government. ZIDAN'S death, like that of his father AL-MANSUR in 1603, was followed by civil unrest and provides a good, if not convenient, reason for JAN to remove himself from the area. He apparently left his family in Algiers while he headed to England. Just after ZIDAN'S death his youngest son, ABU MARWAN ABD AL-MALIK II, was proclaimed SULTAN OF MARRAKESH while another son, ABOUL ABBAS AHMED had himself proclaimed SULTAN OF FEZ. Four years would pass before this sorted itself out.

Once again the French must enter our discussion for, while not a declared enemy of Algiers, there was a healthy animosity between the two. Money is a very good reason to move and it seems that plenty was available to the Algerian corsairs during this time. Cargoes valued at five million French livres and twenty-three hundred Frenchmen were escorted to Algiers and sold in this three-year period alone.



LUNDY ISLAND IN THE BRISTOL CHANNEL

JAN's exploits have him operating from Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel from 1627 (not 1645

as reported by some) to about 1632. JAN launched his most notorious raids from this enclave. It



was said the *Islamic flag* flew over Lundy; unfortunately no description of that flag was given. It was probably the red, *Crescent and Star flag* or the red *SA'ADIAN flag* of Morocco (*respectively, left and right, used until 1659*). Locally, several villages along the Devon and Cornwall coast were raided further up the Channel prompting watches being kept from church towers and entire coastal villages moved inland before he was “expelled by the Penn” (?). During his first year on Lundy JAN hired a Danish slave to guide his corsair fleet of a dozen galleys and 3 smaller vessels to the Danish outpost of Iceland following in the trail of his mentor, and sometime adversary, SIMON DE DANSER/DIABLO RA'IS. JAN'S own galley carried 150 men and 10 cannons. A surprising amount of detail on this venture is preserved. It was such an astounding event the Icelanders actually created a word for it: **THE TYRKJARÁNIÐ** (Turkish Abductions). The raid, according to KLAUS EYJÓLFSSON, member of the *Lögretta* (Icelandic Commonwealth Legislature), supposedly started with a bet made between two *Lords of the Turkish Empire* (actually they were ships owners) – one said that it was impossible to get even a stone out of Iceland, let alone a man to which the other proposed a bet: the one whose crews brought back the largest number of healthy captives would be the winner; just what he won was not mentioned. EYJÓLFSSON'S chronicle was pieced together from eye witness accounts of those who had managed to evade capture and presented to the legislature in 1627 or 1628. The expedition consisted of two raiding groups. JAN led one group and it was his fleet that first landed at *Grindavik* on Iceland's southwest coast on 20 June 1627. There they managed to get some salted fish and animal hides and just 15 captives: 12 locals and 3 Danes. Sailing on he encountered and captured a Dutch merchant vessel. Next he attempted to land at *Bessastaðir*, the residence of the Danish governor of Iceland in *Alftanes* (absorbed by *Garðabær* as of January 2013) but was repulsed by the defenses there. Next he made for the capital of *Reykjavík*, only a short distance from *Bessastaðir*, and met with greater success. There they captured a farmer's wife named GUÐRÍÐUR SÍMONARDÓTTIR. The second group of raiders sailed just 4 ships and landed on 4 July 1627 at *Hvalsnes* on Iceland's southeast coast. The raiders sailed further up the *Austfirðir* (East Fjords), raiding at *Berufjörður* and *Breiðdalur* for the next week and came away with 110 captives, including GUTTOMUR HALLSSON taken on 6 July. Sailing along the south coast they captured, then scuttled, a Danish merchant ship. Joining forces with JAN'S group they headed to the *Vestmannaeyjan* (Vestmann Islands) south of Iceland after capturing an English fishing vessel. The fleet was, by this time, greatly reduced in number owing to the number of ships sent back to Algiers loaded with captives and towing captured prizes. The smaller combined fleet landed at *Heimaey* on 16 July and a total of 242 additional captives were taken from the Islands over the next three days. Among the captives was a Lutheran minister in his 60s named ÓLAFUR EGILSSON, his wife and children. The voyage to Algiers was noteworthy for the care with which the captives were treated aboard ship, there being no molestation of women, the crew sharing food from their own rations with children and how, when a woman went into labor, a completely private section was cordoned off and she was treated to the best care that could be offered on board. On the return voyage, JAN managed to capture another Dutch merchant vessel and imprisoned more people. According to a letter written in 1631 by HALLSSON, his ship anchored in Algiers on 12 August and REVEREND EGILSSON'S ship anchored the following day. The captives spent their first week “on display” in prison. First, two captives were taken by JAN JANSEN as he was the captain; next PASHA HÜSEYİN claimed his share of one of every eight captives and the remaining captives were split into two groups – one for the crew and the other for the ships owners (among this group were the two bettors that started the whole affair). The public auctions started about 20 August and proceeded in groups of 30. Those from *Hvalsnes*,

Berufjörður and *Breiðdalur* on Iceland's east coast were first; their auctions lasted until 28 August. Then those taken from the *Vestmannaeyjan* were next on the block, followed by the captives from *Grindavík* and *Reykjavík* on Iceland's west coast being auctioned last. REVEREND EGILSSON was released in 1628 on condition he head to Denmark to plead with CHRISTIAN IV, KING OF DENMARK, for money to ransom the captives. CHRISTIAN IV finally agreed to ransom some captives in 1637, sending enough money to buy just 27 of the more than 400 taken, including GUÖRÍÖUR and REVEREND EGILSSON'S wife, but his children are never heard from again. EGILSSON writes about his adventure in *Reisubók séra ÓLAF EGILSSONAR* which was published in Iceland and Denmark. In 2008 this book was finally translated into English and, along with many letters from the captives and other contemporary writings, was published in Iceland as *The Travels of REVEREND ÓLAFUR EGILSSON*.³⁰

It was also from Lundy that, in 1631, our ancestor launched an even more infamous raid than THE TYRKJARÁNIÐ. Across the Irish Sea from Lundy was the south coast of Ireland which was festooned with many pirate enclaves, a fact that JAN was undoubtedly aware of. He was approached by some Irish who had been dispossessed of their lands in the town of Baltimore by the Protestant English; they wanted revenge. *The Sack of Baltimore* is a celebrated Irish poem that memorializes the event – though it is a lament, there must have been a tinge of joy as well since all the captives were said to be English and the local installed English governor was tried and hanged for failing to mount even a token resistance against the raiders. The raid yielded some booty and a large number of captives taken from the lower part of town that fronted the harbor. The captives, numbering between one and four hundred depending on the source consulted, were taken to Algiers and sold as slaves. STANLEY POOLE, just after misidentifying the leader of the Icelandic raid as the German *MURĀD Reis*, states (incorrectly on several points) '*not to be outdone, his namesake MURĀD REIS, a Fleming, in 1631, ravaged the English coasts, and passing over to Ireland, descended upon Baltimore, sacked the town, and bore away two-hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, men, women, and children, even from the cradle. "It was a piteous sight to see them exposed for sale at Algiers," cries good FATHER DAN; "for then they parted the wife from the husband, and the father from the child; then, say I, they sell the husband here, and the wife there, tearing from her arms the daughter whom she cannot hope to see ever again."*'³¹ Many bystanders burst into tears as they saw the grief and despair of these poor Irish.'³² The most specific number of captives, a figure obtained from the town of Baltimore itself, is 108. The Irish poetic lament bemoans the fact that only two of the captives were ever heard from again. Of course, when we look at the reality of the situation, the captives' lives in Baltimore must have been quite miserable. The fact they were taken from the lower part of town, where the poorer classes lived, pretty much guarantees that their lives were hard. In Algiers their lot was probably somewhat improved and there is no comparison between the cold and damp climate of the Irish coast with that of the warm and balmy southern Mediterranean coast. Add to this the fact that most, if not all, of their family and friends were taken at the same time and shared in their captivity and that they were English transplants to Ireland where they were despised and we may have arrived at the very real reason why only two ever ventured back to Baltimore! More may have left but they undoubtedly headed back to England, not Ireland.

1630 – 1634: SALEE

Things in Salee quieted down after a couple years following the September 1627 death of ZIDAN and JAN is back as ADMIRAL OF SALEE. The journal of the Dutch Commissioner ANTONIO KEYSER has an entry dated 23 April 1630 in which he relates receiving a letter from the States-

The Sack of Baltimore

The summer sun is falling soft on Carbery's hundred isles,
The summer sun is gleaming still through Gabriel's rough defiles;
Old Innisherkin's crumbled fane looks like a moulting bird,
And in a calm and sleepy swell the ocean tide is heard:
The hookers lie upon the beach; the children cease their play;
The gossips leave the little inn; the households kneel to pray;
And full of love, and peace, and rest, its daily labor o'er,
Upon that cosy creek there lay the town of Baltimore.

A deeper rest, a starry trance, has come with midnight there;
No sound, except that throbbing wave, in earth, or sea, or air!
The massive capes and ruin'd towers seem conscious of the calm;
The fibrous sod and stunted trees are breathing heavy balm.
So still the night, these two long barques round Dunashad that glide
Must trust their oars, methinks not few, against the ebbing tide.
Oh, some sweet mission of true love must urge them to the shore!
They bring some lover to his bride who sighs in Baltimore.

All, all asleep within each roof along that rocky street,
And these must be the lover's friends, with gently gliding feet—
A stifled gasp, a dreamy noise! "The roof is in a flame!"
From out their beds and to their doors rush maid and sire and dame,
And meet upon the threshold stone the gleaming sabre's fall,
And o'er each black and bearded face the white or crimson shawl.
The yell of "Allah!" breaks above the prayer, and shriek, and roar:
O blessed God! the Algerine is lord of Baltimore!

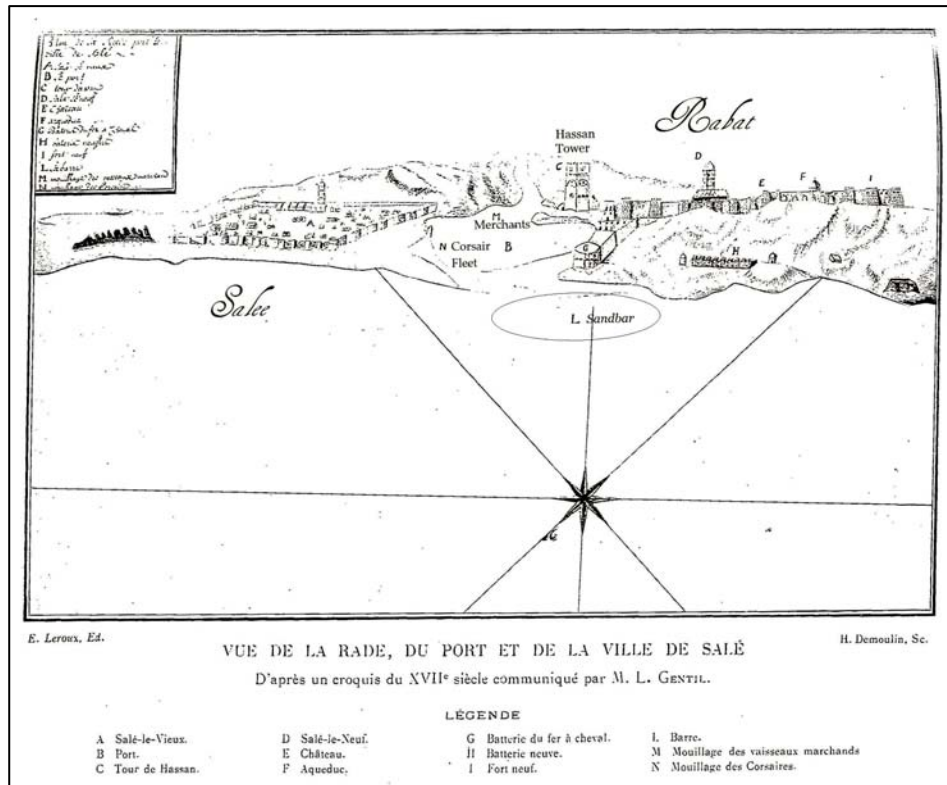
Then flung the youth his naked hand against the shearing sword;
Then sprung the mother on the brand with which her son was gor'd;
Then sunk the grandsire on the floor, his grand-babes clutching wild;
Then fled the maiden moaning faint, and nestled with the child:
But see! yon pirate strangled lies, and crush'd with splashing heel,
While o'er him in an Irish hand there sweeps his Syrian steel:
Though virtue sink, and courage fail, and misers yield their store,
There 's one hearth well avenged in the sack of Baltimore.

Midsummer morn in woodland nigh the birds begin to sing,
They see not now the milking maids,—deserted is the spring;
Midsummer day this gallant rides from distant Bandon's town,
These hookers cross'd from stormy Skull, that skiff from Affadown;
They only found the smoking walls with neighbors' blood besprent,
And on the strewd and trampled beach awhile they wildly went,
Then dash'd to sea, and pass'd Cape Clear, and saw, five leagues before,
The pirate-galley vanishing that ravaged Baltimore.

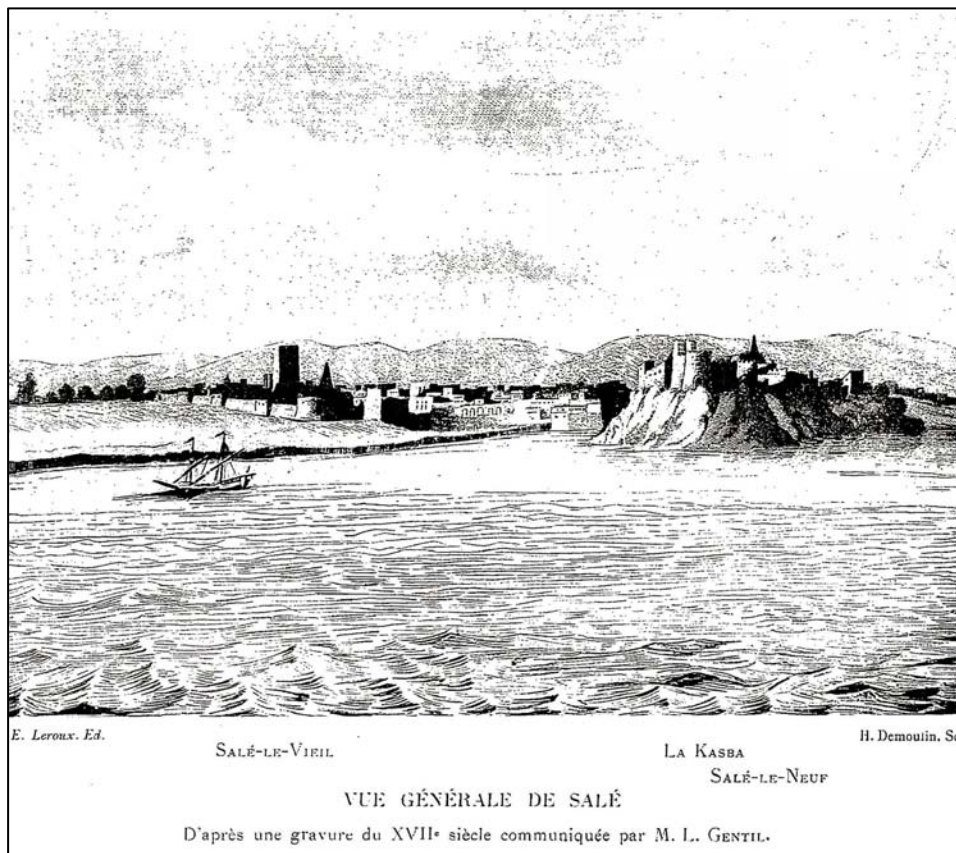
Oh, some must tug the galley's oar, and some must tend the steed;
This boy will bear a Scheik's chibouk, and that a Bey's jerreed.
Oh, some are for the arsenals by beauteous Dardanelles;
And some are in the caravan to Mecca's sandy dells.
The maid that Bandon gallant sought is chosen for the Dey:
She 's safe—she's dead—she stabb'd him in the midst of his Serai!
And when to die a death of fire that noble maid they bore,
She only smiled, O'Driscoll's child; she thought of Baltimore.

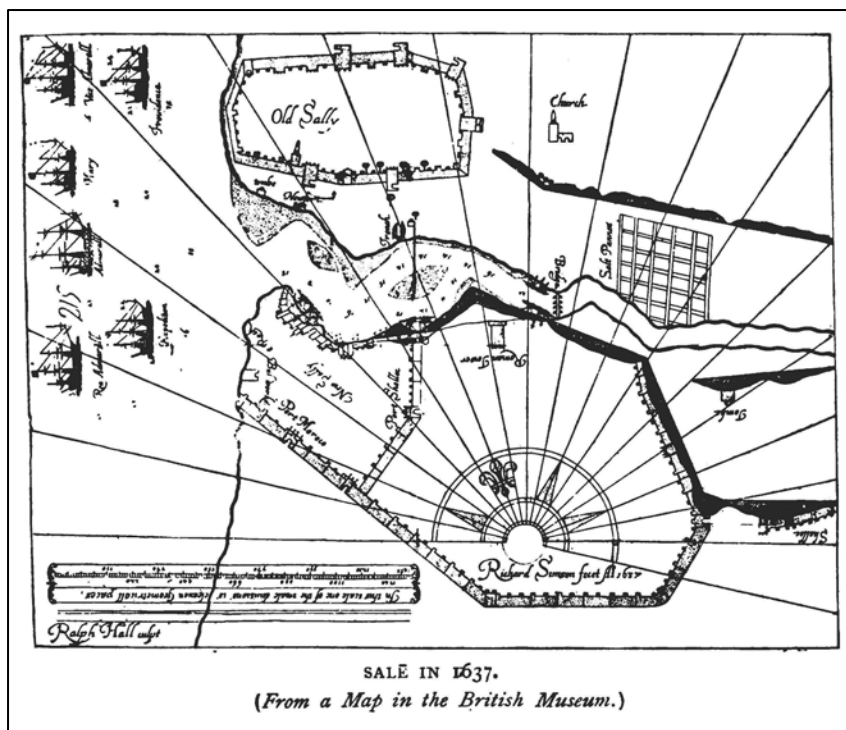
'T is two long years since sunk the town beneath that bloody band,
And all around its trampled hearths a larger concourse stand,
Where high upon a gallows-tree a yelling wretch is seen:
'T is Hackett of Dungarvan—he who steer'd the Algerine!
He fell amid a sullen shout with scarce a passing prayer,
For he had slain the kith and kin of many a hundred there.
Some mutter'd of MacMurchadh, who brought the Norman o'er;
Some curs'd him with Iscariot, that day in Baltimore.

Thomas Osborne Davis (1814-1845)



Salé and Rabat ~1630





General demanding the release of all Dutch captives. KEYSER relates that he has “answered that there are no Dutch captives, that all those who came here and declared before the ADMIRAL MORAT RAIS, alias JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM, that they were Dutch were immediately given their freedom.”³³ JAN was immediately engaged by SULTAN AL-MALIK II to help him come up with a list of benefits to be offered the French. ADMIRAL RAZILLY had returned again in 1630 and, as he was sent by LOUIS XIII, KING OF FRANCE (1601 – 1643) to negotiate a treaty,

instead of bombarding Salee, he managed to buy some French captives. He bought the freedom of some of those he condemned to prison 7 years earlier when he broke his promise to not attack Salee in 1624. RAZILLY continued asking for a favorable commercial status in 1631 and the resulting French Capitulations allowed a French Consulate to be opened, reduced tariffs on French goods, and granted freedom of religion for French subjects. These gains were gone before Paris was even aware of them. AL-MALIK II was assassinated in May 1631 and all Capitulations issued by him were void. LOUIS XIII attempted to *ratify* the Capitulations the year after they were voided (doubly absurd as the Capitulations were a statement of fact from the Sultan, it wasn't an agreement or treaty and they were void).

The 4 year reign of ABU MARWAN ABD AL-MALIK II is remarkable for his cruelty and debauchery which was brought to an end by his assassination in May 1631. EL WALID BEN ZIDAN, another of ZIDAN'S sons, was immediately proclaimed SULTAN OF MOROCCO. He issued French Capitulations in September 1631 and again in July 1635. JAN, signing as MORAT, attested to the Arabic and French versions being in agreement on 19 July 1635 at Safi.

In a long memoir dated 8 October 1630 the English diplomat John Harrison notes that:

Captain John, Admiral of Sale, a Flemish renegade, but a great friend of our nation, said to me that he hoped in the end it (England as protector of the Republic) should come to pass, both he and many others, especially these Moriscos, longing sore to be under Christian government again. And Captain John also told me that up the river of Sale two leagues there is a silver mine (it was tin) discovery which the Andalusians keep secret till they be gathered together from all parts...He desires me to advise him in advance if Your Majesty proposes anything on that coast, as he would adventure his life in Your Majesty's service; if not, to procure him leave from Your Majesty to come to England, which he proposed with the first opportunity if he can get out to sea again and light on a

*good prize, Spanish or Portuguese, for he professed himself still a Christian at heart. However, in his younger years of infirmity [he had been] forced to turn at Algiers, taken at Lanzarote, being a prisoner there with the Spaniards, and of a prisoner made a slave by the Turks when they took that island, and after, worse, a Turk. (Quoting JAN the memoir continues) KING MOULAY EL-MALEK being a man of no good government, exceedingly given to drunkenness and other vices, but above all that have gone before him, most cruel and bloody, by reason whereby all the better sort flee away from him, so that he hath little to no command [and it is] generally though he cannot continue long ...*³⁴

Relations with England deteriorated quickly after this with English capturing some Moors from Salee and sell them very cheaply into slavery in Spain. HARRISON publishes a biography on the murdered SULTAN in 1633 entitled The Tragical Life and Death of MULAY ABDALLAH MELEK.

In a strange turn-of-events, at the same time JAN was negotiating with LOUIS XIII the leaders of the *Hornachero Republic* offered the *Republic's* resources to FELIPE III, KING OF SPAIN if they could return to their homes in Extremadura; FELIPE declined. Meanwhile the REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG wasn't keeping to the terms of their 1627 treaty with England so the city of Salee was jointly taken in 1632 by the combined forces of the English navy and the army of SULTAN EL WALID. After the English captives were freed, the English navy sailed away, much to the SULTAN's dismay. Soon EL WALID had to evacuate his forces as well. The SULTAN's desire to increase the economic links with Europe had hit a roadblock because of the REPUBLIC and this truce removed that obstacle. No longer were the European powers so inclined to believe the "But, they're not my subjects!" claimed by the SULTAN while he threw his hands up in tired resignation. No end to the Salee Rovers equated with no economic gains for Morocco. The SULTAN had to do something and his approach to the problem was nothing less than inspired. The SULTAN's solution is found further on in the section on Oualida.

The REPUBLIC had its own internal troubles to deal with. The mouth of the Bou-Regreg needed constant dredging. The massive sand bar lying just off the harbor was a blessing and a curse. Its shallow waters allowed for the shallow-draft corsair vessels to skim over the bar to the safety of the harbor while effectively blocking the deeper-draft European warships from gaining entry. As the years passed the vessels of both sides increased in size and what once allowed safe passage now blocked that escape route to safety as the corsair vessels no longer just skimmed the surface. The sand bar also slowed the outflow of the River and it was this very slowing that caused the silt carried in the river to sink to the bottom of the harbor. This silting up of the harbor interfered little in the years of the shallow-draft vessels but strained the treasury with the heavy dredging fees required to keep the harbor viable in later years. By 1634 the harbor was so silted up that the pirate fleet had been reduced to just 30 shallow-draft, yet very fast, *qârib*. This vessel was a modified Iberian *caravel* that could sail in the Atlantic. A later description of the harbor captures the decay nicely (and calls into question the accuracy of the 1634 observation made by a Roman Catholic priest): By 1780 all that remained were 15 frigates, a 'few' xebecs and 30+ galleys – all rotting from lack of use while the harbor was useless due to sandbar and silting from mainland.³⁵



Complicating the smooth running of the government of the REPUBLIC was the presence of two strong political factions, one favoring Rabat and the other Salee. During times of internal friction, the REPUBLIC was rent by what could be termed a civil war with the harbor being the most convenient site of battle. So serious was the internal conflict that outside support was obtained – in March 1637 WILLIAM RAINSBOROUGH, Vice-admiral in the English Royal Navy and English Ambassador to Morocco, sailed a fleet of six warships to Salee. Choosing both factions over yet a third, he targeted the hilltop kasbah of ABDALLAH BEN ALI EL-KASRI. As he was head of the *Hornachero Republic*, it can truly be said the *Republic* was bombed out of existence. RAINSBOROUGH returned to England in June 1637 with 230 liberated slaves. AL-‘AYASHI no longer brought in the large amounts of money the Dutch merchants were accustomed to receiving and their support, *i.e.* illegal arms smuggling, began to dissolve in 1637. Finally the Andalusians secured the help of the *Dala’iyya* group of *Sanhaja* Berbers of the Middle Atlas (another of ZIDAN’S trouble-makers) and the saint was assassinated in April 1641.³⁶ It is said that when AL-‘AYASHI’S head was paraded in triumph through the streets, verses from the Qur’an were heard coming from its mouth.

How long the REPUBLIC was truly independent of the Sultanate is unknown. In its formative years from 1612 through the time as the REPUBLIC OF SALEE, 1621 or so, it definitely operated under the Sultanate. After it joined with the Andalusians and became the REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG around 1622 it seems to have revolted against the SULTAN as 1623 is the only time we know of where the SULTAN used his military against the REPUBLIC, unsuccessfully. It seems to have maintained a high degree of independence for a couple more years but by 1627 It appears that some sort of accommodation had been reached with the SULTAN having control, however nominal it may have been. After ZIDAN’S death in September 1627 there was a period when the REPUBLIC may have attempted to reassert their independence but just how effective this was with their leader, JAN, gone is unknown. The REPUBLIC is known to have been in active opposition to the SULTAN in 1635 but it was probably shortly after this that the cohesion of the REPUBLIC started to fail and by 1640 all semblance of independence was gone.

For JAN, the second quarter of the 17th century saw a worsening of the prospects for the Barbary corsairs and the Salee Rovers. Peace was breaking out all over; stronger rulers demanded a greater share of the booty; more merchant ships were lightly, though effectively, armed; impressively-armed Spanish galleons protected the gold-laden ships making their way back to Seville and Madrid – all conspired to make privateering a much more dangerous profession that brought steadily decreasing monetary rewards. This was definitely a good time for a career change!

1635 – 1640: PRISONER OF THE KNIGHTS OF SAINT JOHN ON MALTA

The story that JAN was captured by the KNIGHTS OF SAINT JOHN in 1635 and imprisoned in the fortress on Malta until 1640 continues to intrigue, but primary sources to confirm this are lacking. First – the KNIGHTS formerly KNIGHTS OF RHODES; formerly HOSPITALERS OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM (1113); aka KNIGHTS HOSPITALERS; aka KNIGHTS OF SAINT JOHN; still in existence, mainly as SAINT JOHN’S AMBULANCE CORPS in England and Germany. The KNIGHTS, at this time, were little better than the Barbary corsairs and, in fact, many would say they were much worse. JAN’S ship was captured off the coast of Tunisia by the KNIGHTS; he was taken to Malta where he was imprisoned in the order’s dungeons in Vallarta. The GRAND MASTER in

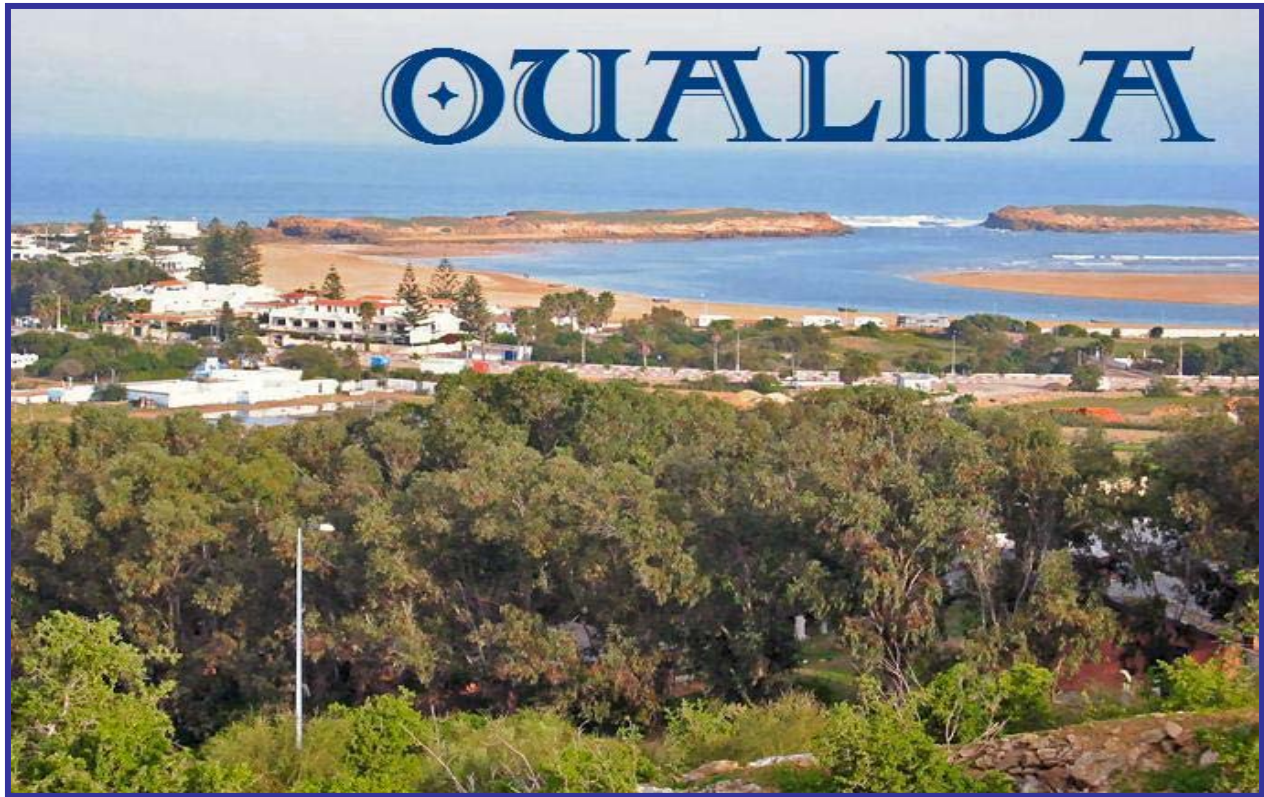
1635 was ANTHONY DE PAULLE. Allegedly he was severely mistreated and occasionally tortured for no reason as he held no information the KNIGHTS wanted or needed. USTA MOURAD, the DEY OF TUNIS, carefully planned an assault against the Knights on Malta so as to rescue most of their fellow sailors and Corsairs. A huge corsair fleet descended upon the island in 1640, when the GRAND MASTER was PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD, and successfully mounted a massive attack on the fortress; gaining entry the corsairs set the prisoners free, including the 70 year old JAN. Returning to Tunis, JAN was greatly honored and praised and as each step brought him closer to Morocco, the honors grew in size. Whether or not this actually happened is debatable. There are some problems with the time frame as JAN was the first to be appointed to a new position in the Moroccan government and that position was filled no later than 1635.

1634 – 1641 (AND BEYOND): OUALIDA

At a time when the Barbary States were negotiating peace treaties with the European powers, the SULTAN would want to join the ranks of those considered to be legitimate rulers and pursue a similar course of peace. But in so doing he would be cutting off the main source of income – the fees collected from pirates and through privateering. *But* if there was a nominally separate REPUBLIC from which pirates launched attacks, what power did the SULTAN have over another countries citizens

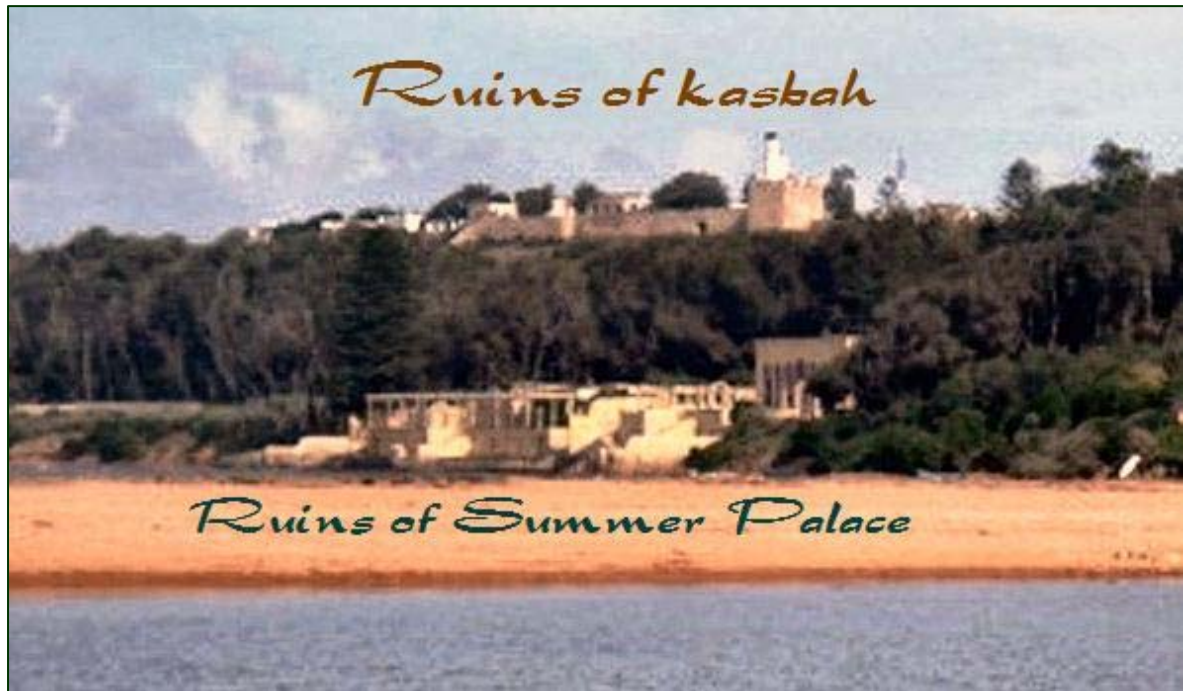


and acts? One of the REPUBLIC’S operating costs was a percentage of the prizes taken paid to the SULTAN; the reason behind this payment? It offset the SULTANS losses caused by loss of similar fees when the REPUBLIC declared independence! In fact, his income never did drop, as a matter of fact, it appears to have increased over time or, as the amount of booty taken dropped, the SULTAN demanded a larger percentage to offset any losses. By the end of the REPUBLIC’S vibrant life, they were paying 70% of the booty to the SULTAN! The SULTAN could negotiate peace treaties and continue to reap the profits of piracy! As piracy profits decreased as a percentage of total income and the European governments refused to tolerate the so-called “independent” REPUBLIC and held Morocco responsible for acts of the REPUBLIC the need for the REPUBLIC evaporated. SULTAN EL WALID BEN ZIDAN thought long on the matter and came to a couple conclusions. First, why did he want the *Republic* back? He wanted to offer to European commercial interests a safe port-of-entry. Well, seeing as the Bou-Regreg was constantly silting up the harbor, maybe it wasn’t so important after all. Plans for a new Atlantic port had been in the works for decades, dating back to at least the time when ZIDAN’S library was stolen by the French Consul – he was also an adventurer who had approached ZIDAN about building a new port in the south, in the Doukkala Province at Aïer, a small town 110 miles south of Casablanca. Returning to those very first plans EL WALID built a new port city at Aïer which he would rename in his honor – Oualida (also found as Oualidia). This not only gave European traders a new city rather than the millennia old Salee-Rabat, the site chosen allowed for larger vessels to come into the harbor – at Salee they had to drop anchor outside of the harbor and shuttle their goods in on smaller boats able to cross the sand bar in front of the harbor. Second, he realized that the “glue” holding the feuding factions together in the REPUBLIC was none other than JAN



JANSEN (or the thought of him if he was indeed being tortured in a prison on Malta). A new city needs a new governor and the REPUBLIC needs to be weakened. Why not do both by appointing JAN to the post of governor for the new port city? In fact, the appointment may have been a plum offered JAN for his success in negotiating a favorable treaty with France. Third, it provided a counterweight to the Portugese in nearby El Jadida. The end of the 1630s saw the end of the continuous and profitable life of the REPUBLIC, though it would periodically reappear at will. The last known appearance of the REPUBLIC was in 1828 when a ship was captured by a pirate crew claiming to be from the REPUBLIC OF SALEE.

The new port city officially opened for business in 1634 – with JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM as the town's first governor, the CAID MORAT, and a kasbah so well-appointed that EL WALID thought of making it a Royal residence. That thought was put into action 3 centuries later when SULTAN MOHAMMED V (1909 – 1961) built his summer palace on the lagoon beach below the kasbah in the 1930s. The palace was abandoned with the 1953 exile of the SULTAN; the current King is considering rehabilitating the ruins.

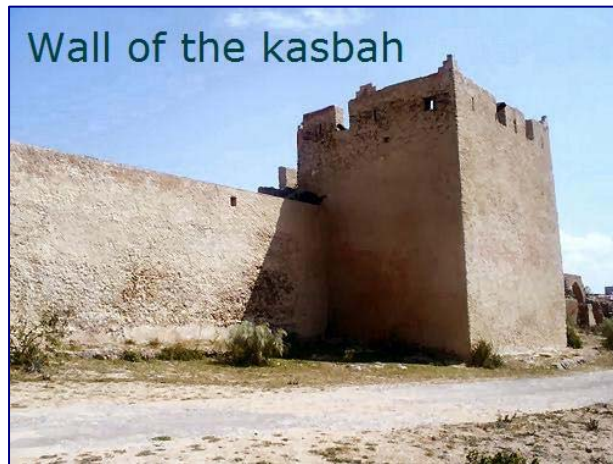
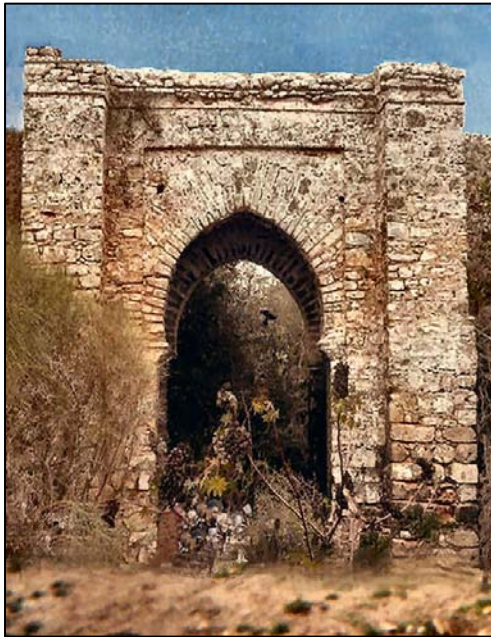


As governor, JAN supervised the policing of the town and any “high roads” in the vicinity. He was responsible for maintaining the city walls, their battlements and the many pieces of artillery found hanging on the cliffs that surround the city; he also regulated the markets and the pricing of goods, and presided as judge and jury over matters of public safety and minor infractions such as quarrels, thefts, and assaults. He could sentence the guilty to pay a fine (to him) or spend time in prison which could be remitted by a payment (to him as well). The *Kasbah* was ideally sited on a bluff overlooking the lagoon providing an unobstructed view of the harbor entrance. It was



first, a military compound which provided protection for the harbor and was the command center for any military action; it was second, a government building where a lot of the town’s finances were handled, including the lucrative port fees and the receipt of the government’s percentage of all prize booty. Its massive windowless walls belie its function.

Gate of the Oualida Kasbah



Inside the walls of the Kasbah at Oualida



The kasbah even warrants mention in Frommer's Guide: [the] 17th-century kasbah sits in ruins on a wooded hillside overlooking the lagoon - this kasbah was built for JAN by 1634. It is located west of Avenue Hassan II where Route P3430 intersects. Online photos show a lot of the structure to be in ruins. A description posted online in July 2008 concurs with: "*The Kasbah is collapsing with a very bad state of neglect. The keeper is living inside the Kasbah. You can still climb the outer towers and see the canons.*"



When I visited I saw group of architects taking measurements and conducting initial studies to start a restoration and renovation process. The Keeper is a very nice person but I really don't see any reason to try and gain access to see the inner part of the Kasbah." Another online source stated that the kasbah was still functioning as a government office (which I guess could also be in ruins, knowing how governmental offices are usually run).

But this wasn't the end of the SULTAN'S favors – he also gave JAN control of the shallow port of Safi, some 35 miles to the south. JAN had a residence in Safi but nothing is known about the particulars – it could have been rented or owned or maybe it was provided by the government. A kasbah does not function well as a place to live; accordingly EL WALID is said to have built a *castle* for him up higher on the slope of the gently rising hills inland from the town where the breezes were more cooling. This may have been a *riad*, a style of Moroccan house or palace where the focus is inwards – there are no windows to the outside and all rooms open onto an interior courtyard or garden that typically had a fountain and four orange or lemon trees. This may have been the structure that EL WALID found so enticing he considered making it a Royal Palace – a kasbah is more fortification than palace.

The office of governor may have come with one of EL WALID'S many daughters – at least this is the colorful, unproven, story that has come to us over the centuries. It could easily be true as the SULTAN numbered his sons at 986 and he had more daughters than sons! He could toss them out like grains of rice at a wedding and still have too many to house and feed! What's more surprising is that he didn't give JAN two or three of 'em! You can almost hear them:

Sultan: So JAN, you're getting older, what do you want to do when you retire?

Jan: I dunno, probably continue with my business at Salee.

S: What!? A man of your importance? With the bleak economic future of the place? I've got an offer for you – you know that I'm building a new port south of here, right?

J: Yeah, I've heard something to that effect.....

S: Well, I need a governor for the place...

J: A governor? To govern *what* exactly?

S: Why, all the lucrative import and export commerce with all of Europe...

J: I dunno, I have a pretty good set-up here in my Republic...

S: Okay, okay for you ... *and only you*, Jan ... I'll throw in *three* of my daughters
(Sultan claps hands, twice, briskly)

(A seemingly unending parade of veiled females starts to pass by)

S: Pick any three you want... you know, the harbor at Salee keeps silting up....

J: *Three*? What am I going to do with three more wives? *Are you nuts*?

S: Okay, *two* then – pick just two, any two, of my lovely daughters... *please*.

J: Where will I put them? Our dredging equipment works just fine, thank you.

S: I'll add five, no *ten* rooms to your kasbah and a mansion – I'll build you a mansion on the slopes behind town so you can enjoy the soft ocean breezes... I'll even throw in a moat, no charge....

J: I'll tell you what – how about this – a kasbah, enlarged, and a mansion, 75% of the port fees *plus* the courts' fees ... and *one* daughter.

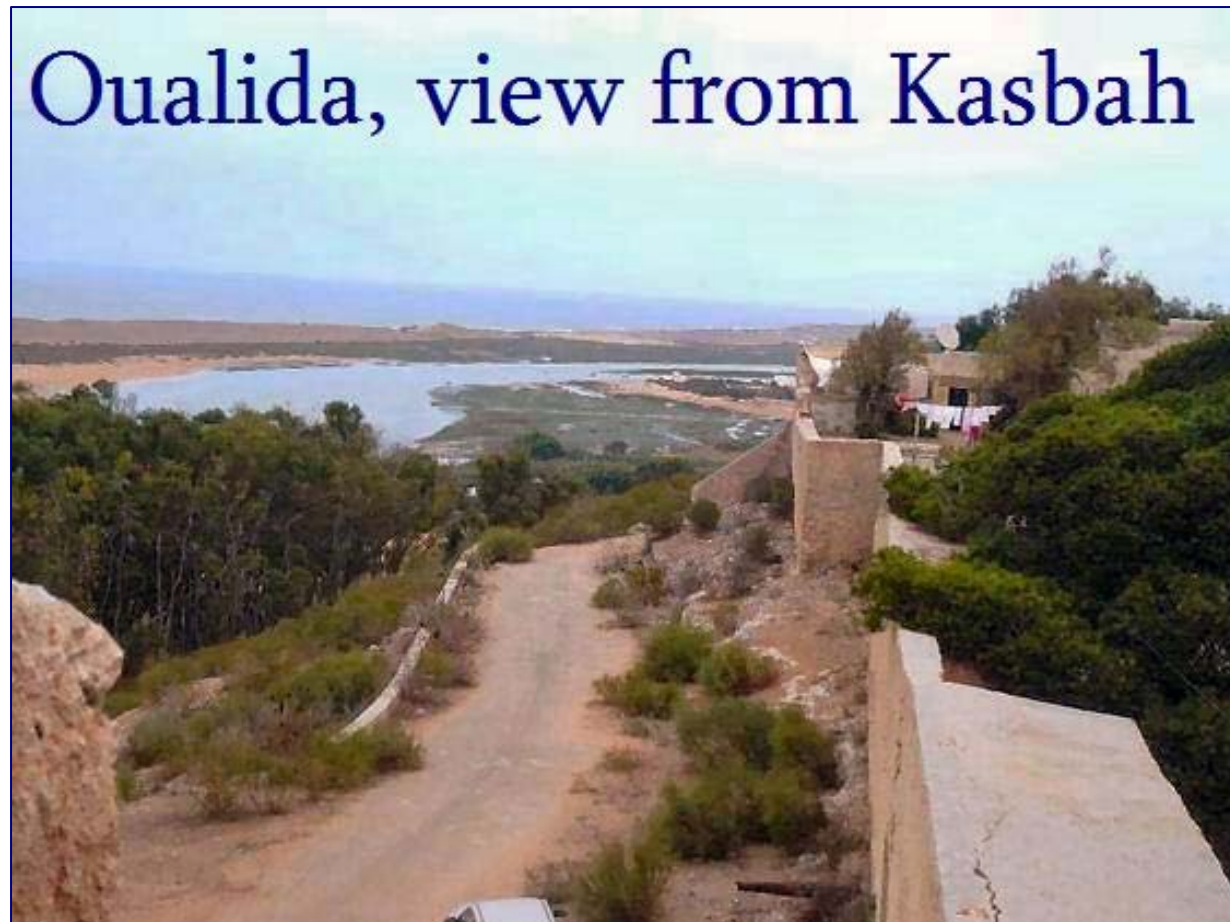
S: *One*!? Just one?? OUCH! You drive a hard bargain; no wonder your Republic was so successful.

J: I didn't get rich by splurging on wives.

S: Okay, sign on the dotted line, initial here...and here. Scratch her name off the birthday card list....who's next?

This is the second time when a reigning SULTAN needed JAN on his side and what better way to do it than make him a member of the royal household? If it wasn't ZIDAN's daughter in 1624 it was EL WALID's daughter in 1634 that became JAN's third wife.

As late as 1635 SULTAN EL WALID was still having trouble subduing the REPUBLIC OF THE BOU-REGREG. He sent an embassy to CHARLES I, KING OF ENGLAND requesting military assistance. Eventually some sort of *Convention* was signed on 10 May 1637 which allowed for, but didn't guarantee, the supply of military armament to the SULTAN. In 1636 SULTAN EL WALID was murdered by the same group of people that assassinated his predecessor but the English court was unaware of this when they signed the *Convention*. JAN continued as the CAID MORAT of



Oualida under EL WALID's successors. The SAÂDIAN dynasty had but two more SULTAN's to offer before being replaced – the first was EL WALID's brother MOHAMMED IV and the second his nephew AHMED AL ABBAS. MOHAMMED IV's ruled only a small part of Morocco extending along the coast from Safi to Oualida and inland to Marrakech. The PLIAJI continued to serve the remaining SAÂDIAN Sultans after ZIDAN at The Hague and in Morocco. In 1659 the ALAOUITE dynasty that claims descent from the PROPHET's daughter FATIMA AZZAHRA became the new ruling family. MOHAMED IV, Morocco's current leader, is the 22nd ALAOUITE KING.

A new Dutch Embassy headed to Morocco in 1640. The States General appointed the sea captain ANTONIUS DE LIEDEKERKE (1587 – 1661) to the post of AMBASSADOR; he sailed on the *Gelderlandt* leaving Texel on 1 September 1640. A member of the Embassy was the engraver ADRIEN MATHAM; it is thanks to his presence that we know many of the specifics of the voyage

as he recorded the experiences in a journal that was later purchased by PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY and deposited in the Library of the Imperial Court at Vienna (now the Austrian National Library).³⁷ MATHAM mentions the presence of a married couple on board; they were off to visit the wife's father; it was none other than LYSBETH JANSEN VAN HAARLEM and her husband. Another traveler was LYSBETH's brother-in-law JACOB AERTSEN. For some reason ROBERTS in her 1969 biographical article on JAN takes this as proof the LYSBETH had a sister. More likely, since LYSBETH was traveling with her husband, JACOB was probably her husband's brother, hence her brother-in-law. This provides us with the elusive surname of LYSBETH's husband: AERTSEN. The *Gelderlandt* reached La Rochelle, France on the 19th and remained for about two weeks. They then dropped anchor at Belle-Île off the coast of Brittany on 11 November and finally passed Portugal on the 27th. Lookouts sighted the *land of the Turks* on 2 December and, keeping to the coast, but far enough offshore to avoid musket fire, they entered the harbor at Salee on the 9th of December. Crew members ashore were handed a letter from JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM asking permission to board the ship but it isn't clear if he was in Salee. Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting, began on the 15th of December.

Trouble with the winds and the sandy bottom may have caused the ship to strike anchor and head south to Safi which they reached around midday on 24 December; they immediately sent a request to the CAID, JAN, to be allowed to buy water and provisions. Nearing midday on Christmas some Moors and Jews came to their ship with two sheep, chickens, two kinds of radishes and some fine bread, sent as a gift from the CAID with which they had a sumptuous Christmas dinner, which, being Ramadan, JAN would not be joining them. On the 28th two letters from Jan arrived with some presents and refreshments for his daughter. One letter was addressed to the Ambassador while the other invited his daughter to come and join him however overland travel was dangerous, especially for a woman. Instead, brother-in-law Jacob, accompanied by 6 or 7 of the Moorish servants sent by Jan, would go to meet Jan at Oualida. The two parties met somewhere in the middle with Jan on horseback traveling with a suite of 18 servants.

Permission to come aboard being previously granted to JAN in Salee, JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM, came aboard the *Gelderlandt* on the 30th of December as a guest of the AMBASSADOR for a happy reunion with his daughter. He came aboard *carried by servants on a barge. His carpeted lounge had many silk cushions.* He was led into the cabin with the AMBASSADOR and LYSBETH and *the old and feeble man* (after all he was 70 and had just spent 5 years being tortured in a Maltese prison) ate a splendid meal and spent time relaxing and conversing with his daughter. (These statements have been attributed to LYSBETH but it appears they were written by ADRIEN MATHAM in his journal). JAN returned the following day which is almost definitive proof of him having a house in Safi, whether he had one for his use while conducting port duties or he had his own place is not known; LYSBETH accompanied JAN off the ship, and most likely her husband and brother-in-law went as well. JAN was still in Safi the next day, 1 January 1641, for, on that day, he paid 19 pieces of eight for the account of the AMBASSADOR plus some casks of fresh water. LYSBETH, who comes off as being a bit of a prude as she "*was already disgusted with the people and the country*" none-the-less heads to the kasbah in Oualida on 2 January.

While LYSBETH visited with her father, the Embassy visited SULTAN MOHAMMED ESH SHEIKH ES SEGHIR at the El Badi Palace in Marrakesh, arriving there on 27 January. While the AMBASSADOR *stayed* at Marrakesh through March 1641, the embassy also traveled as on 9 February the SULTAN ordered the Caid at Safi to provision the *Gelderlandt*. Two days later the *Gelderlandt* was seen off by reeds, drums and fusiliers and accompanied by the Caid of Safi and

JAN JANSEN. The engraver ADRIEN MATHAM spent 3 or 4 days at the kasbah in Oualida where he was treated as JAN's friend. He drew the kasbah "*for him from a position between the port and the lagoon where the ships can moor in both places.*" More research is needed to find out if this drawing or engraving is extant. They returned to Safi in July where they ransomed 45 Dutchmen who had been captive for 2 years; 28 others were left behind as the ransom paid had drained their resources. Leaving Safi the *Gelderlandt* encountered strong winds causing them to seek the safety of a port, which they found in Madiera, a Portuguese archipelago lying 323 miles from Morocco and about 400 miles north of the Canary Islands; by August they had once again returned to Safi. On 22 August JACOB AERTSEN returns to the *Gelderlandt*, leaving LYSBETH a while longer to visit her father. LYSBETH and her husband rejoined the Embassy and the *Gelderlandt* reached the Texel more than 14 months after embarking on 12 November 1641.³⁸

FINALE

JAN may have received an award of sorts, a *Crescent Medal*, from a SULTAN, ZIDAN or EL WALID, or a different source all together. After his death this *Medal* made its way to his son ANTHONY in New York and was passed down through several generations of descendants. The last descendant to have possession of the *Medal*, or perhaps their executor, supposedly gave the *Medal* to The Holland Society in New York; queries to the Society from this writer about the *Crescent Medal* have gone unanswered.

Salée's diwán, created under the first Republic, was still operating in 1784, but its mere existence can not be interpreted to mean the continuing existence of a Republic, independent or not. Once firmly in the grip of the Sultan, the diwán probably functioned as any other town council with its authority coming from the Sultan. In 1774 the diwán was composed of past governors and every year two members were elected as captains, or kaids – one for the kasbah or citadel and the other for the town itself. We know that the diwán still existed in 1784 as the "kaid of the kasbah" was asked by Tunisian authorities to become their Bey. It is not known how many more years the diwán existed; At least one of the names of the Republic remained useful: in 1828 pirates claiming to be from the Republic of Salée seized a ship as a prize.

The Dutch recently honored JAN JANSEN – considered to be somewhat of a patriot or freedom-fighter – when they nominated an opera performed by the singing group *Camerata Trajectina* that glorifies JAN's life as the lead production for the 2006 Dutch National Opera season.³⁹ Even more recently the stage act "*JAN JANSZON, de blonde Arabier*" toured The Netherlands in 2009. It was written by KARIM EL GUENNOUNI, and based on JAN'S life as a pirate.

ISSUE:

- 1) LYSBETH JANSEN VAN HAARLEM: born about 1595. All that is known for certain is that she was married and her husband's surname was probably AERTSEN. She traveled to Morocco with her husband and brother-in-law JACOB AERTSEN to visit her father, arriving in December 1640 with the new Dutch Ambassador and leaving in August 1641.
- 2) ABRAHAM JANSEN VAN SALEE: believed to have been born around 1602 in Cartagena. Possibly emigrated to New Amsterdam sometime before 1650. In the Minutes of the Orphan Masters of New Amsterdam is found the following entry dated 9 April 1659:

CATALYNTJE, the wife of JORSEY, coming in says that a man called ABRAHAM JANSEN VAN SALEE, alias the TURK, who had lived at her house, was dead, having made a testament whereby he has devised his property to the negro-woman and the child he has be her, JORSEY having been named executor. She says the Deacons of the City have attached and seized the property, and she had been to the Director-General, who has referred her to the Orphanmasters. As the domicile is not within this jurisdiction the case was not taken up by this Board, but again referred to the Director-General and Council.⁴⁰

- 4) **ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE:** moved to Amsterdam circa 1625 where he captained some sailing ships and possibly owned one. Some writers think he moved as a consequence of the 1629 Moroccan famine but he had been in Amsterdam for a couple of years before the famine hit. Lived near the *Haringpakkenstoren* where he met **GRIETJE REYNIERS**, a bar maid at a tavern owned by PIETRE DEWYNTER. He obtained a license to marry **GRIETJE** in December 1629 and they sailed for New Amsterdam before the end of the month. They were married on board ship in January 1630. Their story continues in the next section.

ENDNOTES FOR JAN JANSEN SECTION

- ¹ Geni.com "Jan Janszoon Jansen van Haarlem, 1st President of Salé and Grand Admiral, Governor of Oualida" by Phillip Dodge and "Soutgen Janszoon (Caves)" by Brittany Jenkins
- ² Leslie B. Freeman, *Freeman-Wheeler*, Rootsweb, version dated 2 March 2001; author contact: whitebear@harborside.com; and from *supra* Geni.com
- ³ Dan Gamber, "Gamber, Bumgarner, and Armstrong Families Ancestral Timeline or How to make an American – and America," 2005, updated 19 June 2004; www.gamber.net; e-mail: daniel@gamber.net
- ⁴ <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/worldguide/spain/canary-islands/history>
- ⁵ Angus Konstam, *The History of Pirates* (Guilford, CT: The Lyons Press, 2002)
- ⁶ George Glas, *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands* (London: 1764) pp. 327-8.
- ⁷ Alexander H. de Groot, "Ottoman North Africa and the Dutch Republic in the 17th and 18th centuries" *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, No. 39, 1985, page 131.
- ⁸ Padre Guadalajara, *Memotabile Expulsion y lustissimo Destierro de los Moriscos de España* (Pamplona, 1613) page 136; from Meaken, *Moorish Empire* (1899) page 133.
- ⁹ Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (Palgrave/MacMillan, NY: 2004) p 122.
- ¹⁰ Almost every source lists different names and different years for the rulers with the older sources being less accurate, for instance, M. Chenier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, 2 volumes (London; 1798) misstates years of rule, misnames the "Ameers" as it was translated from the French and is a thoroughly incorrect source as it pertains to the rulers; likewise the oft-quoted Meakins *Moorish Empire* (1899) misses a couple of the Sa'adian rulers completely.
- ¹¹ Haim Zeev Hirschberg, *A history of the Jews in North Africa; Volume II: From the Ottoman conquests to the present time* (EJ Brill: Leiden, Netherlands; 1981) pp. 210-235.
- ¹² Giles Milton, *White Gold* (NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux; 2004) pp. 14-30
- ¹³ Hakim Bey (Peter Lamborn Wilson), *Pirate Utopias: Moorish Corsairs and European Renegadoes* (Autonomedia, Brooklyn, NY; 1995, 2003)
- ¹⁴ Alexander H. de Groot, "Ottoman North Africa and the Dutch Republic in the 17th and 18th centuries" *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, No. 39, 1985, pages 135 – 136.
- ¹⁵ Fernando Ballano "From Hornachos to Salé, From Farmers to Pirates," *El Legado Andalusi, una nueva sociedad mediterránea (Legacy of al-Andulus, a New Mediterranean Society)*; Issue 27; (<http://www.legadoandalusi.es/>)
- ¹⁶ Letters of the States-General; published by K. Heerings, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, I: 1590 to 1660 (The Hague) 's-Gravenhage 1910
- ¹⁷ Nicholaes van Wassenae, *Historisch Verhael Aller Ghederck Waerdigher Gheschiedenissen die hier en daer in Europa, als Duytslant, Vranckenrijck, Enghelant, Spaenjen, Hungarijen, Polen, Sevenberghen, Sweeden, Walachien, Moldavien, Turckijen, Switserlant, Barbarijen, en Nederlant, Voorgevallen syn*, (1715); available at the New York Public Library.
- ¹⁸ Douglas Barricklow, "Jan Janszoon" <http://genforum.genealogy.com/morocco/messages> (and) Francis Ferraro "Re: Anthony Jansen van Salee" <http://genforum.genealogy.com/cgi-genforum/email.cgi?192811036>; 1 January 2002
- ¹⁹ Letters of the States-General; published by K. Heerings, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, I: 1590 to 1660 (The Hague) 's-Gravenhage 1910; in Alexander H. de Groot, "Ottoman North Africa and the Dutch Republic in the 17th and 18th centuries" *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, No. 39, 1985, page 145.

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- ²⁰ Inédites de l'histoire du Maroc par le Comte Henry deCastries; 1st series "Dynastie Saadienne. Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays Bas Tome 3, page 270f. For much of the quoted correspondence and journals I am indebted to Hazel van Dyke Roberts, "Jan Jansen van Haarlem," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. 100, October 1969, beginning page 194.
- ²¹ *Ibid.* Inédites par le Comte Henry deCastries. pages 244 – 246.
- ²² Meakin, Land of the Moors, 1901, pages 163-165.
- ²³ *Op.cit.* Inédites par le Comte Henry deCastries Tome 4, page 10f.
- ²⁴ *Op.cit.* Inédites par le Comte Henry deCastries Tome 4, page 130f.
- ²⁵ Some of the information on Harrison and the English, and most of the quotes, come from the Roberts 1969 NYG&B biographical article on Jan Jansen; in that work she cites the following as her source: *Archives d'Angleterre*, Ser. 1, tome 2, pages 80 – 309.
- ²⁶ *Op.cit.* Inédites par le Comte Henry deCastries Tome 4, pages 168 – 170.
- ²⁷ Bowles, Paul Frederick, Three Tales (1975)
- ²⁸ *Op.cit* Dey, Pirate Utopias, chapter 7.
- ²⁹ Tahir Shah, "Home of Jan Jansen in Salee," 2 February 2012, www.tahirshah.com
- ³⁰ According to the translators, because of Iceland's dire economic conditions the book is not currently available for purchase. <http://reisubok.portal.acrosonic.com>
- ³¹ Père F. Dan, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, 2nd edition, Paris, 1649; p. 277
- ³² Stanley Poole, History of the Barbary Corsairs, page 233
- ³³ *Op.cit.* Inédites par le Comte Henry deCastries Tome 4, pages 249 – 251.
- ³⁴ *Op.cit.* Inédites par le Comte Henry deCastries Tome 3, pages 125 – 129.
- ³⁵ *supra* Milton, pages 268-9.
- ³⁶ Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, A History of the Maghrib (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1971) pages 216-224.
- ³⁷ "de oude Heer Smits" (pseudonym of a female writer) "Een oud-hollandsche reis naar de Barbarijsche staten" (roughly "An old Dutch voyage to the Barbary States"), *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 29 December 1866, No. 52, pages 414-415. Adrien Matham's journal was printed at the request of the Imperial Court for the first time, in 1866. It was published by Martinus Nijhoff Publishers of The Hague, it included a biography of Matham and introduction and notes by Ferdinand de Hellwald.
- ³⁸ Much of the information on the Ambassador's trip comes from the Roberts 1969 NYG&B biographical article on Jan Jansen; in it she cites excerpts from the journal of Adrien Matham found in *Archives, Pays Bas*, Series 1, Tome 4, pages 584 – 629. The information in this citation provides different excerpts than those found in the 1866 *De Nederlandsche Spectator*. Not known if the *Archives, Pays Bas* in this citation is the same as the Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays Bas found in the Inédites par le Comte Henry deCastries citation.
- ³⁹ Listen to excerpts at: <http://www.camerata-trajectina.nl/display.php?l=en&i=notes#janjansen>
- ⁴⁰ New Amsterdam Records, VI, 84.

ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALÉE



GRIETJE REYNIERS

HARINGPAKKERIJ TAVERN

PIETER DEWINTER, OWNER

HOTEL BOOKING SERVICE

HOTEL INFORMATION

HOTEL

HOTEL

HOTEL

Husband: **ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE**
 Born: 1608 Cartagena, Murcia, Castile
 Married: January 1630 onboard ship to New Amsterdam
 Died: 1676 New York, New York
 Buried: *Dutch Burying Ground, Manhattan, New York (?)*
 Father: JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM (1570 – 1650)
 Mother: MARGARITA

Wife 1: **GRIETJE REYNIERS**
 Born: circa 1602 Amsterdam, Netherlands
 Died: 1669 Gravesend, Kings County, NY
 Buried: *VAN SICKLEN Family Burial Ground, Gravesend, NY*
 Father: JOHANNES REYNIERS
 Mother: JANNETJE

Issue:	Born:	Where:
1) ANNICA ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE	circa 1632	New Amsterdam, New Netherlands
2) SARAH ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE	circa 1635	New Amsterdam, New Netherlands
3) CORNELIA ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE	circa 1638	New Amsterdam, New Netherlands
4) EVA ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE	1641	New Amsterdam, New Netherlands

Wife 2: **METJE MACHTELD GREVENRAET**
 Born: circa 1630 Netherlands
 Died:
 Married: 1670 New York, New York
 Father:
 Mother:
 Issue: None

Many stories have been created since the time, nearly four centuries ago, that this ancestral couple of ours roamed the planet. Unbelievable to this author is the amount of not only information but the very substance of their lives that remains on the planet, some of which has been actually restored to that period when ANTHONY and GRIETJE roamed the rooms in some buildings! ANTHONY secures the largest number of facts and fallacies but GRIETJE'S life attracted a fair amount as well.

ANTHONY (ANTONY) JANSEN VAN SALEE (VAN ZALÉE);

ALSO VAN VEES, VAN VAES, VAN FEZ, VAN VAAS, “THE MULATTO,” “THE TURK”

First, as to ANTHONY – he was allegedly born around 1608 in Cartagena, Murcia, Spain to JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM and his second wife whose name has not been passed down through time but who seems to have been of Berber stock. The place of birth comes from his marriage license in which he told the recorder he was a seaman from that place; this may have been said to expedite the issuance of said license as well as accounting for his dark complexion. However there has been no evidence to contradict either the year or place of birth as stated. The darker-skinned Berbers are the indigenous peoples of northwestern Africa, mainly associated with the country of Morocco (and a particular type of carpet). This second marriage came to pass while JAN’S first wife, whose name also escapes us, was alive and well in Holland but to JAN this would pose no problem. His first wife was a Christian, as he was when they married, and, in his adopted home – the Emirate of Morocco – and within the tenets of his adopted religion – Islam – this first marriage was not valid. Besides, JAN’S new religion allowed him to have up to four wives simultaneously (never mind the question of just how that would work) and several concubines or what we would call common-law wives. It is believed that ANTHONY spent most of his first two decades in Morocco, mainly in Salee, but the reasons for this change of location have been obscured. Likely is the possibility that his family fled the religious persecution of the Moorish (Muslim) population of the Kingdom of Spain under FELIPE IV. This persecution reached the former Kingdom of Murcia in 1613 and it is a safe assumption the family had returned to Morocco by this time. If not, ANTHONY would have been removed from his parents and placed in the care of a Roman Catholic couple to receive enlightenment and the conversion to their faith – in reality, he would have been their slave and dragged to the nearest Church and forcibly baptized. As this less-than-Christian occurrence did not befall ANTHONY, it is safe to assume the family left Cartagena, intact. Nothing of a definitive nature has been found that clearly established a Cartagena birth; rather it seems to have been an accepted if unproven fact; hopefully some documentary evidence will surface when the extant town records are examined. Assuming it is accurate it is quite possible that ANTHONY was born there not because his parents lived there but only because that is where his mother was when she gave birth (in which case the likelihood of finding documentary evidence is greatly decreased). JAN may have been there to lend a hand in the privateering ventures of the Moroccan Emir which would go hand-in-hand with the freedom-fighting sentiment of his Dutch background. Morocco was not a safe place to live in the first decade of the 17th century as the throne was disputed between three sons of EMIR AHMED EL MANSOUR EL DEBI since his death in 1603. The civil wars that ultimately resulted in the victory of ZIDAN would not be over until 1610. The strife in Morocco made it a dangerous place to live; perhaps this was behind the supposed Cartagena sojourn. If this was true, whatever assistance JAN provided to the Emir would have been more in the way of espionage than the taking of Spanish prizes. The presence of his pregnant wife in the execution of the latter would not only be a hindrance but also dangerous and counterproductive. Whether or not Spanish citizenship was fully lost with the expulsion of Spanish Muslims is not known. Morocco, being somewhat safer beginning in 1610, may have drawn JAN back well-before the enactment and subsequent enforcement of the expulsion of the Moors which came to Cartagena in 1613. There are five references placing one ANTHONY JANSE at Salee in the years 1623 and 1624 in the work of COMTE HENRY DE CASTRIES bearing the title Les sources inedites de l'histoire du Maroc. He undoubtedly was on sea voyages earlier while serving first as a cabin-boy and later as a ship’s mate on a merchant ship – but, in any event, his story picks up in Amsterdam in 1628 where he is

found as the captain of a merchant vessel. This fact attests to his success in that field which, in turn, attests to at least a rudimentary expertise being developed in that field which, at his best, would not be likely to be less than three years of being in the business of sailing. He seems to have been hired to captain a ship rather than owning one outright in that, when he sailed to the new world, it was not as a captain of his own ship but rather as a passenger on one. Of course, if he did own a ship, it may well have been too small or too dangerous to sail across the Atlantic, especially in the winter months, in which case he would have disposed of it in some manner, probably selling it.

Two myths – one commonly-repeated and the other unbelievably ridiculous – about ANTHONY’S life up to this point need to be addressed. The first one is that he was a pirate. There is nothing that lends any credence, however slight, to this supposition. It may have its origins in the fact that his father was a privateer for the Emir of Morocco and may have engaged in similar activities while in the Netherlands before that. JAN would certainly have been called a pirate by those he challenged – which, as it turns out, would have been Spanish ships in both cases. That JAN was also a pirate is a well-established fact and the paintbrush that colors the father appears to have been used to add a false tint to that of the son. The Dutch recently honored JAN JANSEN – considered to be somewhat of a patriot or freedom-fighter – when they nominated an opera performed by the singing group Camerata Trajectina that glorifies JAN’S life as the lead production for the 2006 Dutch National Opera season.¹ Even more recently the stage act "Jan Janszoon, de blonde Arabier" toured The Netherlands in 2009. It was written by Karim El Guennouni, and based on Janszoon's life as a pirate.

ANTHONY, being the product of a fair-skinned father and dark-skinned mother, inherited his mother’s skin; it isn’t clear from which parent he inherited his reputed tall stature and immense strength. In records of New Netherlands and New York, “*the Turk*” is often found appended to his name. The most common reason would be to distinguish one ANTHONY JANSEN from another of the same name – the presence of at least two men with the name ANTHONY JANSEN is documented in New Amsterdam at the same time. The appellation could also have been attached as a slight as being called a Turk could bring a charge of slander against the one who uttered it (but only if it was not an accurate description). But as “*Turk*” was used for several different reasons – those including an adherent of Islam, one of Middle Eastern descent, anyone who was a Caucasian of European descent through one parent only – or just looked like that – it was also thrust on those perceived as being untrustworthy and was the equivalent, or thereabouts, of being called a *rascal* (which was also slanderous) – we have several explanations to pick and choose from. We must remember that it was at this very time that the Ottoman Turks and their allies, the Caucasian Tartars, were penetrating deep into Eastern Europe – practically all of Hungary and the Balkan states were under Islamic control and the capital of the Holy Roman Empire at Vienna was under constant threat. From the other side of the coin, of which there are always two sides, the Ottoman Sultans saw themselves as the rightful heir to the title of Holy Roman Emperor ever since their capture of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople in 1453. The HABSBURG “emperors” were little more than usurpers of the throne that rightfully belonged to the Sultans. With the hoped-for conquest of the Christian infidel at Vienna, the task of uniting the world under the rule of the one true faith, Islam, would be closer-at-hand. The founder of Islam was the third prophet of GOD and his two antecedents were ABRAHAM of the Old Testament and JESUS of the New Testament – thus Islam brings together, in theory, the three

largest monotheistic religions of the world: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It is also important to realize that while Islam is monotheistic, it is not monolithic. If we equate the Sultan in Istanbul with the Pope in Rome, then the Sultan of Morocco would be MARTIN LUTHER or JOHN CALVIN – both leaders of Christian religions though not Roman Catholic. Moroccan Islam has a unique origin in the Muslim world – its founder held many religious truths that were, and are, at variance with the larger Muslim world and the Moroccan style of the faith has incorporated more of the indigenous people’s spiritual and religious beliefs and practices than has Islam in any other locale. Of course it is impossible to say with any certainty the style, if any, of Islam practiced by ANTHONY. His father must have converted while in Algiers, before ANTHONY was born. Algiers practiced a much more traditional form of Islam and was under greater sway of the Ottoman Sultan. ANTHONY, being raised in Morocco, probably saw little of Algerian Islam but, when considering his later actions, it seems that Islam did play a significant part in his life. It is safe to venture that the application of “*Turk*” did not have a positive connotation however it is equally difficult to conclude that it was applied in a solely derogatory fashion. The early court records of New Amsterdam contain the Declaration, dated 29 April 1638, of a REINIER JANSEN or REMMER JEWERDEN, who states that the tailor HENDRICK JANSEN called ANTHONY “*a Turk, a rascal and a horned beast*.”² As ANTHONY was a Muslim, it follows that it could not be slanderous to call him a Turk and in his case it appears that it was used, in part, as a descriptive. Countering this innocuous appellation is the 1536 definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: “anyone behaving as a barbarian or savage.” His Long Island farm, or bouwery, bordering Coney Island was called “*Turk’s Plantation*,” a name that lasted decades after ANTHONY’S demise. Because of ANTHONY being referred to as “*the Turk*” the possible existence of a brother named ABRAHAM becomes stronger – the minutes of the Orphan’s Court of New Amsterdam of 9 April 1659 contain a reference to ABRAHAM JANSEN VAN SALEE, “commonly called the Turk” – the similarity to our ancestor is striking, but far from proof.

The ridiculous myth is a racist one. In the mid-twentieth century, one “researcher” – one with a Ph.D. – a very racist researcher – reported that ANTHONY’S mother was definitely not a dark-skinned Berber woman but was a wholesome, fair-skinned, blond-haired Dutch lass (she may have thrown in blue-eyed for good measure) – oh yes, she was also very buxom. Just how this Ph.D. knew this mythical woman’s bust size defies reason and credibility (I have never come across any historical documents that record that particular characteristic). She then continues with the preposterous statement that while she grants that ANTHONY had dark skin, in fact, he was just very, very, *very* tan because of his sojourn in Morocco. Accordingly, ANTHONY wasn’t of mixed-blood, he wasn’t mulatto (which may be an incorrectly applied description as will be discussed later), he was a bright and sparkling Caucasian from Holland, albeit, a very tan one. It seems that while living in sunny Morocco, he got a tan, which was perfectly natural. And this tan got deeper with each passing year – to the point that, after a decade or more had passed, the tan became permanent (if only)!!! Now, mind you, this was not written during the Dark Ages, it was written in the 1950s! Even in the ‘50s, it was well-known that once the exposure to sun was gone, you lose your tan; it is not permanent; your skin can not be tanned for life. ANTHONY’S dark skin was a function of genetics, not exposure to the sun! The gymnastics required of this researcher include ignoring the presence of JAN’S first Christian wife and her assumption of a second Christian wife being factual, never mind the fact that JAN was not even *in* the Netherlands from the mid- to late-1590s forward with a couple rare exceptions when he put into a Dutch port for repairs and/or to conduct business. In fact there is three-hundred-year-old documentation that

ANTHONY was a Muslim of mixed descent.³ The afore-mentioned “researcher” either overlooked this source or deliberately chose to ignore it – either way, she deserves to be completely ignored!

The status of ANTHONY’S citizenship explains how it came to be that he was able to move to New Netherland in 1629. ANTHONY’S father was Dutch, hailing from the town of Haarlem and Dutch officials repeatedly recognized this as fact as late as 1640. JAN JANSEN used the fact of his Dutch nationality several times to his advantage by gaining access to Dutch ports to complete repairs to his ships and probably do a bit of trading. That the children of JAN JANSEN also held Dutch citizenship appears to be supported by the ease with which ANTHONY established himself in Amsterdam during the 1620s. Since it is apparent the Dutch considered JAN a citizen much later than ANTHONY’S year of birth, it is logical to assume that his children would also be considered citizens. The early lack of recognition granted to the United Provinces in their bid for independence was ultimately rewarded for, when independence came; it included not only the territory of the Netherlands but also their colonies including New Netherland. Thus we see that ANTHONY who was Spanish by birth and half-Dutch by descent did competently claim the right to settle in the New Netherland colony. There was little restriction placed on the settlers of the new colony in regard to nationality but the DWIC did specifically limit the granting of tenancy and the quasi-ownership of land in New Amsterdam to Dutch citizens from its inception until 1645 which places ANTHONY within the group defined as Dutch citizens.



Sometime after 1624 ANTHONY moved to Amsterdam and by 1629 he was living on *Haringpakkerij* near the *Haringpakkerstoren*, or Herring Packing storehouse that faced the harbor on the Ij. The *Haringpakkerstoren* had originally been the 15th century *Heilige Kruistoren*, the west tower of the city wall on the harbor. As the city expanded, the tower’s function changed with it becoming the center of the herring packing industry. The tower had a small spire added; this was replaced in 1607 by one designed by HENDRICK DE KEYSER, the

cities lead architect, and it became one of the city's most iconic structures. It was torn down in the 1830s but the harbor's east tower, the *Schreyhoeckstoren*, still stands squat and solid. ANTHONY'S abode was not far from PIETER DE WYNTER'S tavern where GRIETJE REYNIERS worked as a barmaid.

GRIETJE REYNIERS

Born around 1602, possibly in Amsterdam, her parents may have been JANNETJE and JOHANNES REYNIERS (spelling also given as REIJNIERS and REINIERS). Both parents are believed to have been born in the Netherlands, JANNETJE around 1580 and JOHANNES around 1576.⁴

The records of the *Gemeente-Archief* in Amsterdam show that on 26 September 1626 GRIETJE REYNIERS of Amsterdam, aged twenty-four years, parents unnamed, assisted by her cousin, HEYLTGE GERRITS SCHAECK, married AELBERT EGBERTS (born 1606, Wesel, Nordrhein-Westphaln, Germany)⁵ from Haarlem, a tailor, aged twenty years, having no father, and assisted by his mother, HILLEGOND CORNELIS. The specifics of this first marriage are hazy but it appears they lived in Wesel (pronounced Ve'-zəl), a small town where the Lippe River joins the Rhine and only a short distance northwest of Cologne.

Wesel was in the Herzogtum Kleve (Duchy of Cleves); this dukedom with several other small principalities were under the same rule and, taken together, practically encircled the Archbishopric of Cologne. The last Duke, JOHANN WILHELM, HERZOG ZU KLEVE, JULICH UND BERG (JOHN WILLIAM, DUKE OF CLEVES, JÜLICH AND BERG, 1562 – 1609) died without the requisite male heir to succeed him. A generation earlier many Amsterdammers had fled the tyranny of the Duke of Alba, military agent of the Spanish monarchy, with a considerable number finding Wesel an agreeable alternative so it is likely that both GRIETJE and AELBERT had some previous knowledge of the place before possibly relocating there. In the northwest the Duchy abutted the Netherlands and was occupied by the Dutch from about 1615 to 1672 when a resurrected army drove them out and invaded the Netherlands on the side of the English during the second Anglo-Dutch War. A small portion of the original duchy lies within the Gelderland province of the Netherlands.

AELBERT died before December 1627, leaving GRIETJE REYNIERS a twenty-five-year-old widow. There are no indications of the couple having any children inasmuch as GRIETJE does not appear with a child in later records. Of course we can not say that she, in fact, did not have a child who either died young, was given to a family member to be raised or placed in an orphanage for adoption. Amsterdam's economy was thriving; wages in Amsterdam were almost twice as high as in Cologne. And while housing costs were higher, other costs of living, such as food and clothing, were lower, making Amsterdam a desirable option. Cleves was in the midst of civil unrest because the ducal throne was vacant and claims were being pressed by the neighboring principalities. Though technically split between the German principalities of Brandenburg and the Palatinate-Neuberg by the Treaty of Xanten in 1614, Dutch occupiers (the Dutch HOUSE OF ORANGE had a German seat at Nassau, and a weak claim too) remained in power until 1672. It was handed over to the HOHENZOLLERN Margraviate of Brandenburg after a six-year period of French rule by the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678. GRIETJE set her sites on Amsterdam.

Amsterdam has been pushing the bounds of the societal norms for centuries. This pushing has always been strictly limited to the confines of the city, the thought being that since certain activities are going to occur, better to have them occur in one designated place where they can be more easily regulated. In no sphere was this more practiced than in sex at that time. While being

a sexually adventurous place, Amsterdammers tend to hold less adventurous values. By 1628 GRIETJE landed a job as a barmaid in PIETER DEWINTER'S tavern on the *Haringpakkerij* near the *Haringpakkerstoren*. The tavern was a favorite of German travelers. PIETER ran the tavern for a number of years before he purchased the building for 8,600 guilders in January 1633. That thoroughfare is now *Prins Hendrikkade* and the tavern is at number 5 across from the train station. Perhaps to supplement her meager wages or to satisfy her own desires, GRIETJE'S sexual mores at twenty-five years old could be called somewhat looser than that of the average young woman of her day (and even this day for that matter). Searching for an apparently missing barmaid, PIETER'S wife TRIJNTJE PIETERS STRUYCK, checked the tavern's backroom and found GRIETJE with her "*petticoats about her knees*" – in the company of more than one High Dutch soldier. Not amused, TRIJNTJE saw to it that GRIETJE was fired and, in relating the story to the other tavern keepers, effectively blacklisted her. Whether or not this event ever happened is questionable as the sole source of the story comes from a *Declaration* of CORNELIS LAMBERSE COOL filed during a slander lawsuit in 1639 in the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens in New Amsterdam. At that time under Dutch law, such a Declaration wasn't subject to scrutiny – it was taken as fact; today, it is inadmissible as it is hearsay, unproven and irrelevant. Many have related that there were two separate Declarations filed relating the same story. In fact, the second *Declaration* was filed by CLAES CORNELISSEN SWITS in which he states he was in Amsterdam at the time COOL claims to have heard about GRIETJE'S wardrobe dysfunction. COOL only confirms that GRIETJE was in Amsterdam at that time.

In the 1960s Amsterdam embarked on a program to resurrect their history and in an uncanny stroke of luck (for us) they chose DEWINTER'S tavern as one of their restoration projects – today we can walk into that very same tavern and go into the backroom where GRIETJE'S petticoat-dropping four hundred years ago was, at least in part, responsible for creating us! "*De restauratie (restoration) van Prins Hendrikkade 5*" is an article in the Amstelodamum_Historical Society's periodical Amstelodamum Maandblad (1968, p. 182) describing the history of the building and its renovation; the original name of the house when it was built in 1623 was '*t Schip van Damiate*' (*Damietta's ship*). And our luck continues as there are plans to reconstruct the *Haringpakkerstoren* by 2012! A fictional biography of GRIETJE REYNIERS was written and published by MICHAEL PYE in 1996 called The Drowning Room. While being a great read, remember – it is a work of fiction!

BACKGROUND: FISH & FUR

What was so interesting to attract investors? The great and not-so-great European explorers of the sixteenth century came looking for gold, silver and the elusive Northwest Passage to the Orient. These were supplanted by the Europeans that returned yearly to the North American shores to pilfer the enormous schools of cod off the coast of Newfoundland. Having minimal interaction with the Native Americans the Europeans none-the-less entered into a somewhat lack-luster trading economy with their temporary hosts while they were far from home. Their interactions increased due to furs. Fur was a commodity of immense importance throughout Europe that involved almost every class – but class determined the type of fur used and this was regulated by laws that called for no person to dress beyond their station in life; the highest station was reserved for royalty of course. So ravenous was their appetite – KING HENRY IV of England had a nine-part robe made from eighty ermine and twelve thousand squirrel skins; one hundred and sixty skins of one sort or another wrapped ANNE, the bride of KING CHARLES

VIII of France; and one gown of KING HENRY VIII of England held one hundred sable and five hundred sixty squirrel skins – that by the end of the sixteenth century the European fur supplies had been decimated (that sounds less gruesome than saying that they killed and skinned just about every living creature with fur, doesn't it?) and the Russian supply was faltering. Priced so far beyond the means of the populace – HENRY VIII's furry gown cost £200 at a time when one skilled craftsman at Eltham Palace would have to work for sixteen-and-a-half years to make that amount – the fur-trade became extremely lucrative as demand outstripped supply.

For these reasons the North American fur trade quickly assumed monumental importance for within it was the answer to the dwindling supply of poorer quality Russian furs. These skins provided the visible display that proved one's status in life; provided the means by which men of low birth could rise to the pinnacle of society – as long as all agreed that low birth and low income was equal; and, for many, redemption from being poorly-dressed, social outcasts and worse.

In 1599 KING HENRY IV of France granted monopoly rights in fur-trading along the Saint Lawrence River in New France to some French guys who quickly established the first permanent European settlement at Tadoussac, about 150 miles downriver from Quebec City. In 1606 KING JAMES I of England laid claim to all land from Cape Fear, North Carolina to Bangor, Maine including the right to all trade therein. The Crown proceeded to set up the various colonies – Virginia being the first in 1607 which was followed by Plymouth in 1621, Massachusetts Bay in 1629, and New Haven in 1638 which was absorbed and superseded by Connecticut in 1662 (Rhode Island was settled by religious dissenters and figured little in the fur trade). Bringing up not-quite-the-rear, the Dutch States General granted a fur-trading monopoly to last just four years, 1614 – 1618, to the New Netherland Company for the area between roughly Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Bangor, Maine (never mind the fact that none of them actually owned those rights to grant). This wasn't actually a colony as the Dutch company held it in right of the English crown and under the authority of SAMUEL ARGOLE, the Governor of the Colony of Virginia. In 1623, the English patent was revoked because the Patentees did not improve the land as required. Seizing the opportunity to interfere with Spanish trade routes the Netherlands chartered the Dutch West India Company (DWIC, the Company) that same year. The primary mission of the DWIC was not commercial but military – they were charged with conducting a war on Spain, and, incidentally, raising the money for that war through trade that traversed the globe. By chartering private corporations to conduct the war, the States General was able to shift the costs of war from the public to the private sector. The Company chose the confluence of the East and the North Rivers for their North American trading post and New Amsterdam was born. New Netherland was just a tiny part of the multinational DWIC. It controlled all Dutch interests of the whole of the Atlantic Ocean – the west coast of Africa, all of the islands and the whole of trade from all of the Americas.

Each of these ventures – business ventures – had investors looking for a nice profit – and the source of that profit from New Netherland was furs. This fact alone helps to explain the reticence of these early European inhabitants to help each other, countryman or not, for, what secured the fur trade for one colony, threatened that same trade for all the others. Reduced trade meant reduced income meant reduced profits and an increase in colonial debts. And as this trade increasingly depended upon the transport of furs from the interior along the rivers, every venture sent colonists further up the waterways to establish the trading post that the Natives would encounter first on the trip down the river. Each party in its bid for dominance would buy the land from the Native tribes (or any tribe for that matter) irrespective of anyone's "claims" to the land

be they English, Dutch or French. With deed in hand, a trading outpost/fort would be hastily erected and the messiness of citizenship with its attendant tariffs, duties and taxes, would be decided at some future date. Competition leads to winners and losers and the first big loser in the fur trade was the Plymouth colony which was virtually shut-out of that commercial enterprise by 1640. Demand for pelts steadily increased and, as in Europe, then in Russia, so in British, French and Dutch North America – the supply faltered. Add to this manmade disaster the fact that the DWIC in 1629, with its primary military mission, commanded an income of fifty thousand guilders from New Netherland furs and *twelve million* guilders from plundering the Spanish gold fleet in the Caribbean and it is easy to see why New Netherland with its capital of New Amsterdam was treated as a backwater outpost – that’s what it was. [Dutch coinage included the gold guilder or florin and the copper stiver; twenty stivers equaled one guilder; in 2012 U.S. currency a stiver equaled about 13 cents] While most traded within the confines of the legally-chartered monopolies, many did not – these were the self-employed English, the French *coureurs de bois* and the Dutch *boschlopers*. Even the DIRECTOR-GENERAL VAN TWILLER (1633 – 1638) made serious inroads into the DWIC’s profits through this illegal trading in furs – not only the higher quality beaver and otter but also poor quality of the same plus mink and wild cat pelts and even rat skins!⁶

At the opening of the seventeenth century a fashion fad spelled disaster for the beaver. Heretofore considered a source of low quality fur, the beaver hat catapulted this undesirable to the most desirable in a matter of months – beaver-hat-madness struck Europe as fast and as fiercely as any hurricane has struck land. Their dense pelt, with more than twenty thousand hairs per square centimeter, was waterproof; it was warm; it was available and, in the right hands, made for hats of the softest felt.

The belief that these Europeans took advantage of the Native Americans, though prevalent, is incorrect in one significant way – the Native Americans thought *they* were the ones taking advantage of the Europeans! They were receiving highly-prized goods for what, in their eyes, was a plentiful and easily obtainable product. Each colonial venture developed their own trading partners – the French courted the Algonquin and Huron people while the Dutch favored the Mohegan to the east and the Mohawk, the largest, and easternmost, of the five tribes of the Iroquois League of Five Nations (the remaining four were the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca) to their west. The mid-Atlantic Lenni-Lenape tribes traded more in local commodities – corn, pumpkins and various other foodstuffs – and acted as “middle men” between the Dutch and Mohawk with whom they were often at war. English traders partnered with many local tribes – the Pequot figured heavily in this trade until they were exterminated during the war that bears their name. But these partnerships were more than just commercial, they were also military alliances. The intertribal wars could be devastating and having a strong ally, especially one with lots of guns would seem to bode well for a tribe’s continued prosperity if not existence. The Mohegans were virtually wiped out by the Mohawk during one such war in the early history of the colony; from that time on the Mohawk tribe had a virtually monopoly on the fur trade with the Dutch. At one point, New Amsterdam was flooded with refugees, both natives and settlers, from all over the colony seeking protection. As it happened, the Europeans did not bode well for anyone’s prosperity or existence but their own for reasons other than the so-called Indian Wars. The Native population was destroyed by the infections brought across the Atlantic, not the guns. Upwards of 90% of the Native population of the northeastern seaboard had been wiped out before *any* centers of sufficient European population were established; in fact more than one tribe had been completely eradicated well before the onset of any hostilities by pathogenic

bullets rather than metal ones. This is a fact and function of nature; if there is culpability, might-as-well blame Darwin's "survival of the fittest" theory, though, in this case, the "fittest" meant "infectious" – a strange pairing indeed.

New France expanded westward and southward – along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi all the way to the Gulf of Mexico (and that's why we have the state of Louisiana and not Charlesiana). New England *wanted* to expand but so did the King of England. To that end he chartered Hudson's Bay Company to check the growth of New France in the north (and make great blankets) and conquered New Netherland out of which came New York and New Jersey which effectively shut out the New England colonies from territorial expansion. Meanwhile the southern English colonies expanded westward eventually coming to rest on the eastern banks of the Mississippi thus creating the three thousand mile long battle line from the Gulf of Mexico all the way to the Saint Lawrence River. The Iroquois effortlessly transferred their allegiance from Dutch to English and destroyed the French-leaning Huron (whose decimated ranks fled west) in the little-recalled Beaver Wars (the loss of Iroquois warriors put their own women on the warpath who forced their men to go grab some Hurons – how's *that* for irony?!).

With this background we are led to ask: Why give up living in Amsterdam, one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world? Especially since what our ancestors got in return was, basically, to hack out a living in the woods somewhere far, far away. Three reasons: social, religious, and economic. We have already explored the social aspect: GRIETJE was allegedly deemed too promiscuous, becoming a social outcast and unable to secure employment sometime in 1629. Now let's look at the remaining two reasons.

Despite the known and much-touted religious liberty of the United Provinces, religious intolerance was the norm. But with the fight for independence well-advanced by the 1620s, those practicing the faith of their Spanish enemy, Roman Catholicism, were targets. The adherents of Islam were much worse off – being a Muslim, ANTHONY was handicapped in all his ventures – the large corporations were not predisposed to hire a ship captain that wasn't a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, or at least a Protestant. Opportunities to own property and businesses were restricted too.

As an incentive to move to their new outpost, the DWIC initially offered settlers outright ownership of the house that the Company provided plus the land it sat on after six years of work. They were afforded free transportation and cheap livestock upon arrival. Settlers taking advantage of this offer were free to pursue the livelihood of their choice; the sole monopoly reserved to the Company was the fur trade which they maintained until 1639. It was left to the DIRECTOR-GENERAL to decide how large a tract was granted to a new resident, usually based on family size; where that tract would be located and what crops were to be planted. These small tracts, usually less than ten acres, where tobacco and Indian corn were grown, were of two types: a plantation and a bouwery. The farmer only cultivated plantation lands while he actually lived on a bouwery. The plantations were usually farther from the fort but some of each type grew into small business concerns on which all sorts of crops were grown and livestock raised which laid the foundations for some of the outlying villages. All that remains of these earliest tracts is the English corruption of their style – the Bowery. This placed the Company at cross-purposes with its own settlers: The DWIC had been chartered to conduct war and to finance that war, they were granted a monopoly on the fur trade and accordingly, they wanted the settlers, their "employees" in their view, to provide furs. The settlers quickly realized that the Company greatly undervalued fur pelts and overcharged for everything in the one Company-owned store in town where prices

were higher than in Amsterdam! The settlers, forced to generate income by farming and other businesses such as tavern and innkeeper, blacksmith, shoemaker, ship building and repair to be able to pay the high Company prices, soon found another lucrative source of income – trading furs on the black market. In 1629 the DWIC began offering land in exchange for bringing fifty settlers to the colony. A patroonship was a gigantic tract, covering hundreds and even thousands of acres and stretching a distance of sixteen miles along any riverbank. They could not be located on Manhattan so they were set up on Staten Island, in New Jersey and near Albany; their settlers were required to work the land and turn a profit. The venture proved daunting and only one along the Hudson north of Manhattan survived.

So it would seem that 1629 was a good time for ANTHONY and GRIETJE to leave Amsterdam. The new world offered them, or was advertised to offer them, limitless opportunities to advance ones station in the world. They knew each other, probably from DEWINTER'S tavern, as ANTHONY lived nearby. How serious they were involved can't be said for certainty but if they wanted to marry, they couldn't in Amsterdam without ANTHONY accepting the Dutch Reformed Church's authority to perform the ceremony, or, at the least, one of the other Protestant religions deemed "acceptable" by the authorities, an act which violated the tenets of his own religion. Whether or not they knew they could not be married in New Amsterdam for these same reasons isn't known for sure but, with what occurred, it seems they probably did. Taking advantage of a loophole in the marriage laws, they obtained a license to marry before embarking and, while at sea (without a Dutch Reformed minister onboard) were married by the captain of the ship. The records of the Gemeente-Archief in Amsterdam also show that on 15 December 1629 GRIETJE REYNIERS, from Wesel, Germany, widow of AELBERT EGBERTS for over two years, and ANTHONY JANSZ, seaman from Cartagena, aged twenty-two years, parents not named, received a certificate allowing them to get married "on board." And so they were, before they landed in the New World and their new life. (Contrary to what many authors have written GRIETJE did *not* sail on the *Soutberg* as the minister's mistress!)

The first leg of their voyage from Amsterdam to New Amsterdam would be eerily reminiscent of the first leg of the alleged voyage of ANTHONY'S father JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM during which he was captured by pirates from Algiers. With good winds, the trip lasted three months; if the winds failed, four months or longer. From Amsterdam the ships made their way across the wide inland sea called the IJ, with its treacherous shoals, to the windswept island of Texel. From this desolate place, the last point of the Dutch Republic proper, they launched into the North Sea and upon reaching the ocean, turned south either hugging the coast or giving a wide berth to landfall depending on the geopolitical climate dominant – Portugal would be kept a safe distance away – the first leg of the voyage would have the ship skirting the Canary Islands, the Dutch outpost owned by Spain that is the reputed location of JAN JANSEN'S loss of freedom. Catching the trade winds, the ship sailed on a long and forbidding southwest arc across the Atlantic, completing this second leg by swinging north of the Bahamas. The last leg of the voyage hugged the North American coastline while a sharp lookout was kept for the hooked peninsula we know as Sandy Hook, New Jersey that marked the entrance to the great harbor.

1630: NIEUW AMSTERDAM

They may have been relieved to sail through the Narrows and into the bay off the southern end of *Mana-hatta* after braving what could only have been a cramped, cold, wet, rough and dangerous winter voyage lasting several weeks; they were probably disappointed soon

thereafter. What greeted the newlyweds when their ship sailed through the bay and dropped anchor in the cold and choppy waters of the East River in late February or early March 1630? Their relief at dropping anchor was replaced with dismay at the reality. What they saw bore little resemblance to the quaint, thriving town depicted in Company brochures – the “Fort” existed on paper only as did the rest of the town. What they did see was a square dirt wall surrounding a counting house made of stone where the Company stored pelts on the southern tip of the island. Around this were huddled about thirty log houses, mostly on the south side of the “Fort” and at its southwest corner was the Company sawmill and windmill. Supplementing these structures were several rude houses made of bark, a few small sheds and fewer barns. The total number of houses was, perhaps, seventy-five for the two hundred seventy Company employees and family members. “Streets” consisted of muddy walking paths from the dwellings to the Company store and office near or in the “Fort.” French was the predominant language though this would quickly change. Supplies sent to build a proper Fort had to be used to build these log houses by order of PETER MINUIT who served as DIRECTOR-GENERAL between 1626 and 1632. To set foot on land they would be ferried from their ship; the shallow river bank required all ships to drop anchor perhaps four to five hundred feet offshore. Several large, black boulders just offshore, submerged at high tide and hard to see at low, protected the Fort from a river-based assault. So there, in a snapshot, is the New Amsterdam that greeted our ancestral couple that cold day in 1630.



In a few short years they would have been greeted with a different view all together: from a ship they would first see the spire of the Dutch Reformed Church within the dirt walls of Fort Amsterdam and the windmill on the southwest bastion and finally the line of small, clapboard homes and businesses lining the Strand. Most sketches and woodcuts from the early years of the outposts' existence were drawn from the perspective of a ship at anchor in the East River, placing the Fort to the left and what would become the palisade, the future Wall Street, to the right. These depictions, more often than not, present the place as a tidy, bustling, organized village – which it was not. That this is fact is shown by comparing the actual sketch of the town used by the Company to print a brochure with a much-enhanced picture of the town.

The most prominent structure at the south end of town was Fort Amsterdam while there was no clear-cut limit to the north end which opened to the rest of the island for the first five years that ANTHONY and GRIETJE lived there. She would always be GRIETJE REYNIERS, never GRIETJE JANSEN VAN SALEE, no matter how many husbands she had as the Dutch custom was for a married woman to retain her own name throughout her life. The north end was defined in 1635 by a minimally-defensive ditch and earthen wall which was later strengthened by the erection of the palisade along the future Wall Street in 1653.

Fort Amsterdam was a small affair situated on a slight rise on the southwest tip of the island. The Fort was designed in 1628 by Company engineer CRIJN FREDERICXSZ who arrived in 1625; it would be seven years before it was finished though it only took two years to build. MINUIT was briefly followed by SEBASTIAEN JANSEN KROL as DIRECTOR-GENERAL (1632 – 1633) but construction wasn't started until 1633 when the Company sent a party of skilled workmen (masons, brick layers, carpenters) with the new DIRECTOR-GENERAL, WOUTER VAN TWILLER, who would remain for five years. The plans called for masonry walls inside with dirt outside topped with a wooden palisade, but because of time constraints and the deplorable living conditions, it wasn't built that way; the first Fort was basically four long mounds of dirt forming a square with two gaps, one facing east towards the town and the other opening north onto *Breedeweg* or *De Heere-straet* (Broadway). The massive stone forts and castles of earlier centuries had proven ineffective against cannon fire – the impact of projectiles literally shook the walls into piles of rubble. A strong defense was had by walls that would absorb and diffuse such impacts and one of the best, and most readily available, was dirt. The walls of the Fort were undermined by two facts: many of the town's inhabitants refused to fence in their tracts meaning the streets were crowded with wandering livestock. The pig population had a preference for rooting at the base of the Fort's walls. Even if there were gates to close, which there weren't, a person could easily walk into the Fort from any direction. The Fort's windmill provided power for the saw mill and was first located on or near the southwest bastion according to the earliest depictions; it was replaced with a second one closer to the northwest bastion in the late 1630s. Within the Fort were the houses of the DIRECTOR-GENERAL and SECRETARY, the soldier's barracks; a hospital and school, a small church, storerooms for weapons and supplies and room to conduct a market if necessary.

Providing a secure base for the Company's officials to operate from was one of the reasons to build a fort, another was defending the settlement from attack. To do this the Fort was armed with 8 *bombards* or heavy cannon with flaring barrels; 6 *culverins*, very long, slim guns with handles on both sides for carrying; and 7 *serpentes*, thin, long guns with a grooved barrel to cause the projectiles to whirl around. Eventually this Fort, of highly-suspect usefulness, was rebuilt under DIRECTOR-GENERAL PETRUS "PEG LEG" STUYVESANT in the 1650s. The walls were about 200' on each side with large, pointed bastions extending out from each corner that almost doubled the length of each side. The rebuilt Fort had brick walls inside while packed dirt topped with sod covered the outside; this was topped with a log palisade. STUYVESANT questioned the defensive power afforded by the now-decrepit second windmill and had it replaced in 1652 by several more cannon in the fort, making for a total of 44, which offered significantly more protection than either windmill had ever done. A new windmill was built just outside the Fort's Broadway gate. STUYVESANT had mud bulwarks faced with clam shells thrown up outside the Fort along the river creating protective batteries. These were soon covered with grass and later sycamore trees took root, creating the earliest Battery Park which still functions today much as it did then – as a peaceful public space to be enjoyed by the residents and visitors.

Immediately outside the north gate of the Fort was a parade field, whose pared-down version is called Bowling Green to this day. Outside the east gate was the public market or *het marcktveld* where livestock and produce were sold or bartered in the earliest years. *Het Marcktveld-steegie* (Market Field Lane) ran from the Hudson River along the north edge of the market, continuing to the canal (Broad Street); it was also referred to as Petticoat Lane. The eastern edge of the market place was defined by *Beurs-straet*, meaning Exchange Street; it would become Whitehall Street under the English, named after the warren of buildings, gardens and

haphazard additions that served as the STUART'S winter palace in London. As already described, the first houses were built south of the Fort on the shoreline in a haphazard fashion in a small spit of land called the *Capsey*; this was the landward point where the North, later Hudson, and East Rivers met. These *Capsey-straet* houses, protected from the cold north wind by the walls of the Fort, were continued northward on *Langs Strant* along the East River. Eventually the name *Capsey-straet* was abandoned in favor of *Langs Strant* (today's Water Street). The first section of *Paerel-straet* was south of the Fort, west of *Beurs-straet* and one block in from the East River and the *Langs Strant*. The next section extended east from *Beurs-straet* to the *Herren-gracht* (Broad Street) and was first called the *Langs Strant* which became the *Paerel-straet* of this part of town. East of the *Herren-gracht* the riverside area was called the *Langs de Wal* (meaning Wharf or Dock Street) which, around 1650, became the third section of *Paerel-straet* which ran all the way to the wall. The origin of the name *Paerel-straet* is debated: Some claim it came from the long lines of discarded oyster shells along the river banks as they were much enjoyed by the *Manates*, the native Munsee tribe. Others claim its origin arose from the most popular activity that the lane could boast of – *pearling* or the harvesting of pearls from the oysters in the shallow riverbed. Notably, the first version makes no mention of pearls so Oyster Street or Shell Street would be logical names; thus the second seems more plausible, more so if you overlook the fact that the oldest section of *Paerel-straet*, west of *Beurs-straet*, was a block inland from the river and its oyster beds. When our ancestors lived there it was just known as the *Langs Strant* meaning *Waterside*, a wide, muddy tidal area stretching back from the riverbank to the first row of buildings; the need for street names only followed on the heels of more land transactions. There was a feeble attempt at making the lanes closest to the river bank more passable by using the shells from the huge oyster beds as a primitive paving. Bulkheads on the East River and the city's first small public dock across from VAN TIENHOVEN'S storehouse were built along the Waterside wharf in the late 1640s transforming the muddy shoreline into the much-more-useable Dock (later Pearl) Street. The filling in of the riverbed that placed Pearl Street three blocks from the river would not begin for another few decades.

Paddling down the creek that flowed down the center of this part of the island one would follow its gentle curve to the left about a half-mile before emptying into the East River. The upper part of the creek passed through a sizeable marsh which presented a health problem. A canal was dug along the creek bed from *Bever-straet* (Beaver Street) to the East River more-effectively drain the swampy area and to help contain the creek when it was swollen. The Dutch are still noted for their canal-building expertise as even a casual glance at Amsterdam confirms. This was named the *Herren-gracht* (Gentleman's Canal), probably as a mockery, but was commonly called just the *Gracht*. The lanes on either side of the *Herren-gracht* were designated as *oost zyde* and *west zyde* (east side and west side). By the mid-1630s it was a smelly sewer at low tide as several taverns and breweries lined its western aspect (the town boasted 17 taphouses by 1647!) while at high tide it could be navigated into the heart of the town up to an intersecting, smaller canal running west along *Bever-straet* called the *Begijn-gracht*. The *Herren-gracht* was an annoying obstacle to moving easily about town which was rectified when three bridges were finally built over the *Gracht* in 1651. Each bridge continued a lane that started near the Fort on today's Broadway and ended at the canal (or today's Broad Street): one block from the river was *Brugh-straet* (Bridge Street), two blocks in was *Brouwer-straet* (Brewer's Street until 1672, then Stone Street after being the first to be paved) and four blocks in was *Bever-straet* and the *Begijn-gracht*. (Three blocks in was *Het Marcktveld-steegie*, Market Field Lane, aka Petticoat Lane) The canal resulted in a disjointed town: the streets running west of the canal to the fort were joined to

their counterparts on the east side of the canal by the bridges but those on the east had different names - *Brouwer-straet* was continued by *Hoogh-straet* (High Street) east of the canal while *Bever-straet* was continued by *Prinsen-straet* (Prince Street); there was no continuation of *Brugh-straet* as it ran at an odd angle which placed its eastern end close to *Paerel-straet*. Street names were not officially sanctioned until the late 1650s which is reflected in property descriptions which contain no street names. In 1664, under English rule, the street names east of the canal were changed to match their counterparts on the west, Stone Street and Beaver Street; while Beaver remained steady, Stone became Duke Street for about a century beginning in 1691. There was no equivalent of Bridge Street east of the *Gracht* to change names but, none-the-less, Bridge Street between the *Gracht* and the Fort appears as Hull Street on a 1695 map – it soon reverted to Bridge. A fourth bridge spanned the *Begijn-gracht* where it met the *Gracht*. While giving the town a feel somewhat, however distant, reminiscent of Amsterdam, these bridges, great for foot traffic, hampered the navigability of the *Gracht*: larger craft could only go as far as the first bridge at *Brugh-straet* while smaller craft could go to *Brouwer-straet* and the smallest boats and canoes could paddle to the end of the *Gracht* and even into the *Begijn-gracht*. The several small, clapboard houses of the inhabitants filled in these lanes. On the east side of the *Gracht* homes continued along the *Langs de Wal* or *Strand* up the East River to the palisade on today's Wall Street; this riverside stretch was, confusingly, called the *Wall*, though it was meant to be called the *Wharf*; it became a part of the ever-lengthening *Paerel-straet*. The whole of the East River shoreline was called the *Strand* with the part between the Fort and the *Gracht* being the *Waterside* and the rest of the *Strand* east of the *Gracht* being the *Wharf* but called the *Wall*. The rest of the Lower Eastside contained six farms often called *bouweries* that were laid out by the Company no later than 1628. These were not the same as the later, and much larger, *bouweries* however. To the north of the Fort a few houses were on the east side of *De Heere-straet* (Broadway) which allowed for free use of the Fort's cannons. The Company farm was on the west side of *De Heere-straet* and extended to the North River on the Lower Westside. The streets of lower Manhattan seem random and unstructured to many people but such is the opinion of only the uninformed. Company engineer FREDERICXSZ designed the curve of the streets to stop the wind coming off the rivers from being funneled by the buildings into the gale-force winds with their often destructive gusts frequently encountered today in the grid layout to the north.

In 1641 the DWIC under KIEFT built the great stone tavern *Stadt Herbergh* on the site which was fronted by *Coenties Slip*. The previous year the DWIC's New Netherland monopoly was revoked and a Free Trade Zone created that greatly reduced the stagnation that was characteristic of the colony. This became the *Stadt Huys*, literally State House, or city hall in 1653 when the outpost became a municipality under STUYVESANT.⁷ There were whipping posts and a stockade in front to which STUYVESANT added a gallows. There are references to a modified gallows whose goal it would seem was to embarrass rather than kill. One sentenced to this gallows still had a rope fastened around him or her, but it was fastened around their waist not their neck. Once fastened, they would be hoisted aloft for a period of time in which there they hung, swinging in the breeze, much to the amusement of the inhabitants.

The continual erosion of the shore in front of the *Stadt Huys* caused the building of a seawall which was extended along the East River to connect to the palisade at Wall Street. Three small half-moon forts called *rondeels* which mounted 2 cannons each were placed along Pearl Street east of the ditch: one in front of the *Stadt Huys*, one where the palisade on Wall Street met Pearl and one between these two. The use of slips instead of piers was favored in New York:

slips were extensions of landfill at the ends of streets perpendicular to the shoreline that allowed ships to sail into the small inlet and unload directly onto the street extensions. Piers, in contrast, were built on pilings that extended out into the water. These slips were followed by building larger ones adjacent to the original in the unfilled river. These allowed for larger ships to dock easily while, simultaneously, addressing the issue of the silting up of the older slips which rendered them obsolete. The original slip was then filled in with large parcels of land that often became the site of markets due to the ease with which farmers could easily dispose of their produce and livestock.

In 1635 the southern tip of Manhattan was separated from the rest of the island by a ditch and earthen wall that stretched from the East River to the Hudson River, at that time a distance of almost 1,800 feet. With the Fort not being large enough to house all the inhabitants in times of unrest, it was decided to build the well-known palisade along what would become Wall Street. The length of the palisade wall that was built in 1653 is usually given as 2,500 feet but this includes the 700 feet of the wall that ran along the North River. This defensive structure afforded the residents a measure of protection – not so much from the Natives but from the English whom the Dutch were often at war with. Made of logs buried about three feet deep and a pointed free end, the wall reached a height of ten feet. Outside the wall was a ditch or moat measuring ten feet across and four feet deep while dirt was piled up against the inside to create a five foot high platform for soldiers to fire from. Running along the inside of the wall was a thoroughfare named *Het-Cingle*. There were two gates: the *Water-Poort* at the east end located now where Pearl and Wall Streets intersect and the *Land-Poort* located where *Breede-weg* (Broadway) now meets Wall Street. Named *De Heere-straet* in the first decades, Broadway continued north of this ornate main gate as a wide lane on which could be found the homes of slaves, servants and the poor. A bell in the belfry of the church within the Fort would ring at 9 pm every night to signify the closing of the gates in the palisade. Between the gates were block houses at about 300' intervals with up to six ports facing north for defenders to fire their harquebus, a forerunner of the shotgun, through. A bastion was built where the wall met the river – the Fly Blockhouse at the East and the Northwest Blockhouse at the North (Hudson).

Fresh water was obtained from a well now at Chatham and Orange Streets which was carted into the city and sold to each house separately. A second source further north was the Collect Pond or *Kolch* which was eventually filled in becoming the marshy ground upon which the Hall of Justice was built. Once finished with use the dirty water was dumped into the *Gracht* which became a polluted cesspool within a few years.

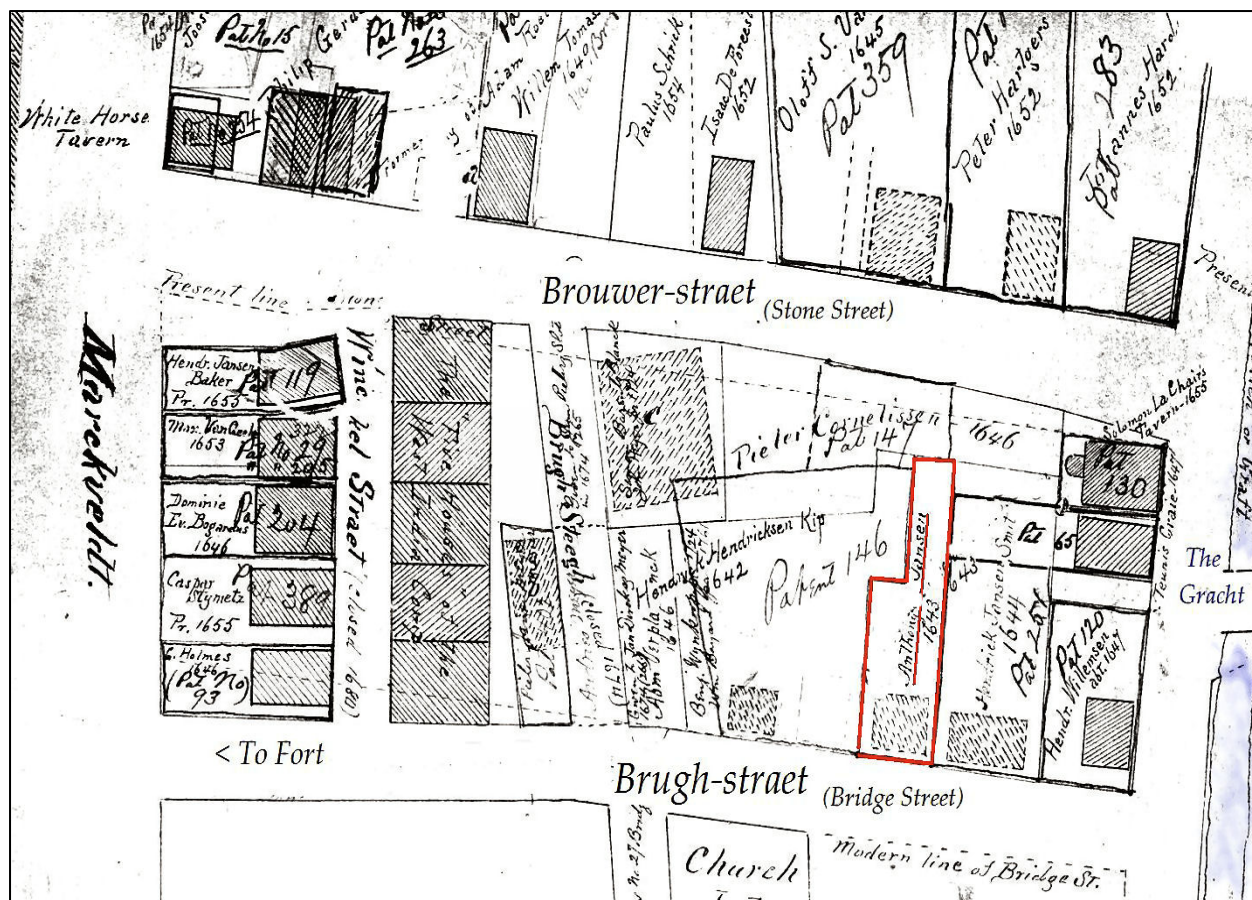
From a view of the town we now move to our ancestors' interaction in the town. First, a caveat: the Dutch West India Company was a private corporation that owned all of New Netherland; there was no private property, in theory at least. The existence of many land conveyances and deeds appear to contradict this but researchers still hold different opinions to this day about the actual effect of such transactions – while one could lease out or even sell the property they had, in the end all land would eventually revert to the Company – at least for the first couple of decades. Several residents had two lots: one where they lived and the other they farmed and had livestock to supply the needs of the colony. ANTHONY can be counted in this group. Another group had a combined business-home such as a tannery, shoe shop or a mill.

The JANSEN's first house is thought to have been on the *Langs Strant* facing the East River (then; now it is three blocks inland) south of the Fort. Beginning at *Beurs-straet* and moving east the residents along the north side of the *Langs Strant* were LAMERT VAN VALKENBERGH, JAN EVERTSEN BOUT, BARENT JANSEN, MICHAEL PAULUZEN, ANTHONY JANSEN

and JOCHEM PIETERSEN; the remainder not germane to our story. In a woodcut from this time, these houses are shown to be of clapboard construction which was how some of the earliest dwellings were made (as already mentioned, the first were either of logs or bark). They lived here for just a short time as the houses were torn down and replaced by farms and a building for the Dutch Reformed Church in 1633; this building took up the whole of the block from the river and is found at number 13 *Paerel-straet* in Block F in 1660. The tip of the island stretches out here, allowing for another block and both the *Langs Strant* and, one block in, *Paerel-straet*. In fact it appears that virtually all the buildings on the *Langs Strant* were replaced during the first half of the 1630s by larger structures that accommodated both home and business including the storehouse of Company SECRETARY VANTIENHOVEN in 1640. The mid-1630s also saw the building of the Company *pack-huysen* or storehouse. The storehouse was actually five stone structures on *Winckel-straet*, a lane that was cut through the middle of the block running between *Brugh-straet* and *Brouwer-straet*. Exactly where our couple lived during the next decade is not known but ANTHONY JANSEN makes it into one of the first entries in the earliest extant official records – the Register of the Provincial Secretary of New Netherland beginning 19 April 1638 now in Albany. RYER STOFFELSEN and JAN GERRITSEN file declarations at the request of JOHN CORNELISON with the Secretary regarding the manner of death of ANTHONY’S dog stemming from the misconception that Muslims sacrificed dogs!⁸ Anthony appears no less than three more times in the Register for the year: HENDRICK JANSEN, probably the same who had called ANTHONY “*a Turk, a rascal and a horned beast*” in April, sued him for slander on 3 June; the *Fiscal* sued on 28 October because he took timber from the woods without permission; and GERREKEN HESSELS sued on 2 December over money owed.⁹

One of the earliest Manhattan deeds on file dates from 1643 and describes the conveyance of a lot, 30’ wide x 110’ deep, from the westernmost section of a lot owned by ABRAHAM JACOBSEN VAN STEENWYCK to ANTHONY JANSEN VAN FEES for the equivalent of twenty-four Dutch guilders [worth about \$234.00 in 2012; the Dutch coins were stivers, schillings and guilders worth about \$0.13, 0.52 and 2.60 respectively]. Some date the deed 24 May but the date of 14 November is found on a 1660 tract map with only STEENWYCK’S name on his larger parcel which would seem to be saying that this was when STEENWYCK recorded the deed giving him ownership. If so, it is doubtful that, without having title to the land, he could have or would have sold any of it. This would mean that ANTHONY’S purchase came at the very end of 1643. This lot was next to HENDRICK HENDRICKSEN KIP’S place on *Brugh-straet* and this equivalent amount was paid in beaver pelts, foodstuffs and *sewant* or *wampum*. A second deed between these same two parties is dated 24 May 1644 in which a *strip* of STEENWYCK’S lot “*containing 17 rods, 6 feet, 2 inches*” is transferred to ANTHONY. Title to this second parcel was transferred to ISAAC KIP on 21 November 1656 in consequence of a corner of his house being thereupon. HENDRICK KIP, SENIOR (relationship to ISAAC unknown) paid ANTHONY the same amount it had cost him to buy this strip from STEENWYCK in 1644. STEENWYCK’S lot was sold off as a western and eastern section, the JANSEN and SMIT lots respectively, and is shown on a 1660 plot map as number 13 *Brugh-straet* on Block E with the notation “ABRAHAM JACOBSEN VAN STEENWYCK Nov. 14, 1643.” A hand drawn tract map by JOHN INNES that was a preliminary sketch for one that appears in his 1902 work on New Amsterdam map shows the larger STEENWYCK tract with the notation “*Pat. 310 1643*” and the JANSEN tract as the western part with “*1643*” written. The SMIT lot has the year 1644 noted. KIP bought his place the year before, patent 146, and it measured 90’ wide and 70’ deep. A map of the city, also from 1660, shows the

JANSEN house as number 22 *Brugh-straet* and the Manatus maps give it the same number; the Castello map may note it as lots 12 and 13 but in Stokes 1964 *Iconography* it is lot 13.¹⁰



Early scenes of New Amsterdam show a long, two-story, I-shaped house placed about 20' back from the street. The "front" door was on the narrow, gabled end of the house, a style favored by the Dutch with a small orchard and vegetable garden in front and a larger one in the rear. No written description of this house is known to exist but drawings show it as also being clapboard. This lot can be seen to this day where it serves as a small parking lot on the north side of Bridge Street just west of Broad, next to the White Horse Tavern (which was on the *Marketveldt* in 1643). Many later buildings were made of local quarried stone or brick. The latter, in both yellow and red, were made locally or were salvaged ballast from ships. One of the often overlooked facts about the *Brugh-straet* property is that ANTHONY bought it while under the Court's banishment order soon to be discussed. ROBERTS states that GRIETJE also owned a house that she usually leased for 150 guilders.¹¹ She relies on Court records from 2 March 1654 wherein the plaintiff GRIETJE JANSEN is suing FREDRICK ELLEKESSEN for back rent. GRIETJE, who normally gets 150 guilders a year in rent, wins and is awarded 60 guilders.¹² This may or may not be our ancestor and, in all likelihood, is not. Our ancestor has always been found as GRIETJE REYNERS in all records found to date, which is in line with the Dutch custom of married women retaining the use of her surname after marriage. If this is our GRIETJE, it would be just one of two times found to date where she used this form and the only one in which she is the person that names her in this odd manner.

The farming concerns of ANTHONY show that, in a similar manner, he held at least three agricultural tracts within the town by the mid-1640s. On the 7th of May in 1639, coming on the heels of a Court order banishing them from the city that will be discussed subsequently, ANTHONY sold his farm south of, and close to, the Fort, placing it in G, H or J block. The Deed:

This day, the 7th May Anno 1639, before me, CORNELIS VAN TIENHOVEN, Secretary of New Netherland, came and appeared in their proper persons, ANTHONY JANSEN VAN VEES, of the one part, and BARENT DIRCKSEN baker, of the other part, and acknowledged in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, to have agreed and contracted in amity and friendship about the purchase of the Bowery hitherto occupied by ANTHONY JANSEN, situate near Fort Amsterdam, bounded westerly by HENDRIC JANSEN, tailor, and eastward by PHILIP DE TRUY, on the conditions and terms here underwritten.

First said ANTHONY JANSEN shall deliver, as he now is doing to BARENT DIRCKSEN aforesaid, who also acknowledges to have bought and this day received from said ANTHONY the land as it is sowed and fenced, the house and barn, together with all that is fastened by earth and nail, except the cherry, peach and all other trees standing on said land, which said ANTHONY reserves for himself and will remove at a more seasonable time, one stallion of two years, one ditto of one year, 1 wagon, plough, and one harrow with wooden teeth.

For all which BARENT DIRCKSEN shall pay to said ANTHONY JANSEN the sum of fifteen hundred and seventy guilders to be paid in two consecutive years; immediately after the receipt of what is aforesaid, he BARENT DIRCKSEN shall pay to said ANTHONY JANSEN, or his order, one just fourth part of the above mentioned money, and 6 months after the date hereof the second fourth part, and so on, one fourth part every half year until the last payment inclusive.

For all which parties pledge their persons and properties, movable and immovable, present and future without any exception under bond as prescribed by law, without reservation or deceit. Hereof are two copies made of the same tenor and signed by parties.

Done on the day and date aforesaid.

This is the mark of ANTHONY JANSEN abovenamed

This is the mark of BARENT DIRCKSEN.

This is the mark of HENRYC HARMSSEN.

GILLIS DE VOOCHT, witness.

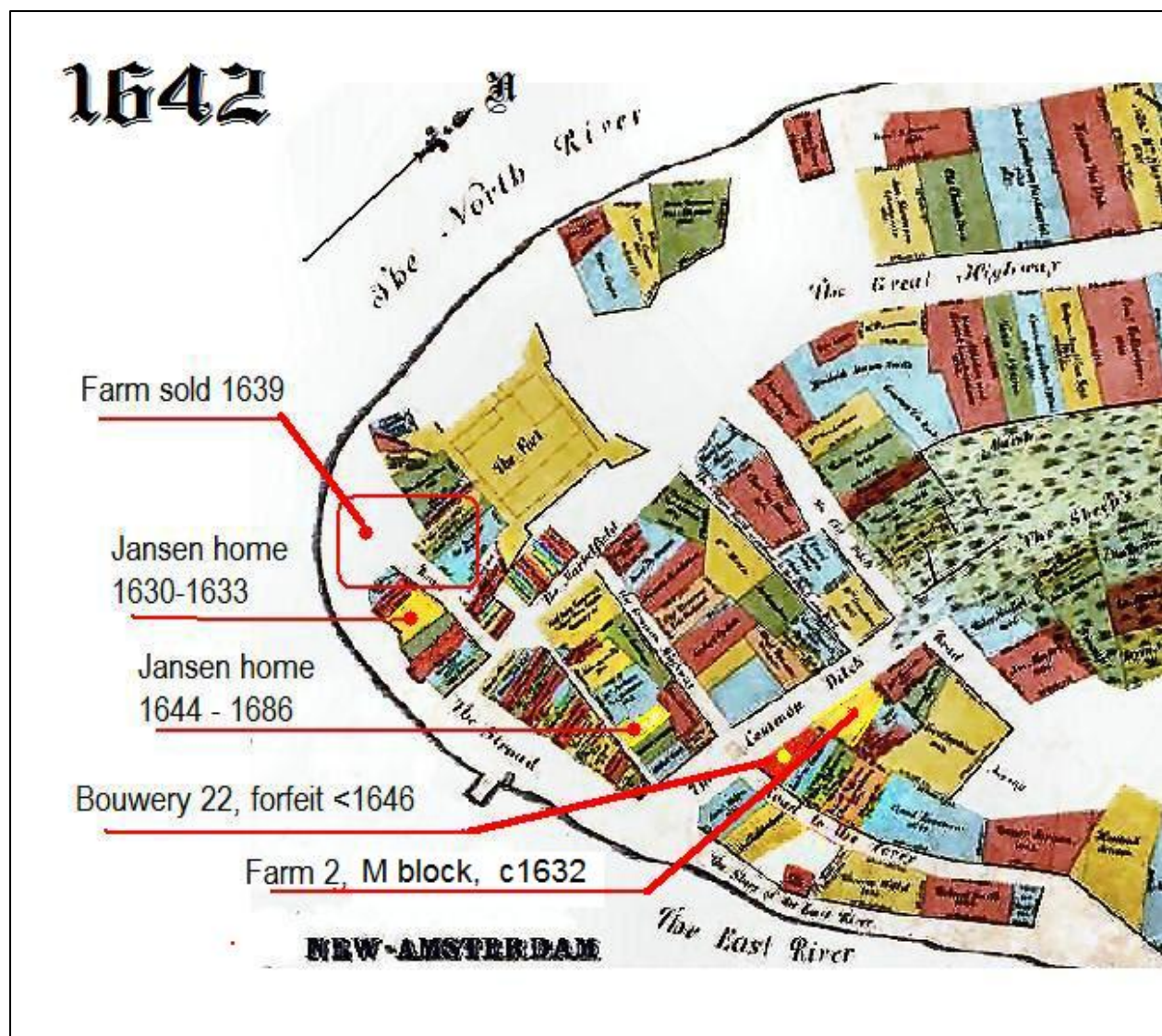
CORNELIS VAN TIENHOVEN, Secretary

The plantings that ANTHONY kept were twelve apple trees, forty peach and seventy-three cherry trees, twenty-six sage plants and fifteen (*grape?*) vines. This tract is often referred to as being the same as one called *Wallenstein* that was owned by DIRCKSEN and later sold to SECRETARY VAN TIENHOVEN however this is incorrect inasmuch as *Wallenstein* was north of the town wall, not south of the Fort. Some of this confusion undoubtedly stems from a widely seen early map marking a tract north of the Wall as “22” which many assume marked *bouwery* 22; it did not, *bouwery* 22 was in the block later designated as N. 1570 Dutch guilders was a staggering price,

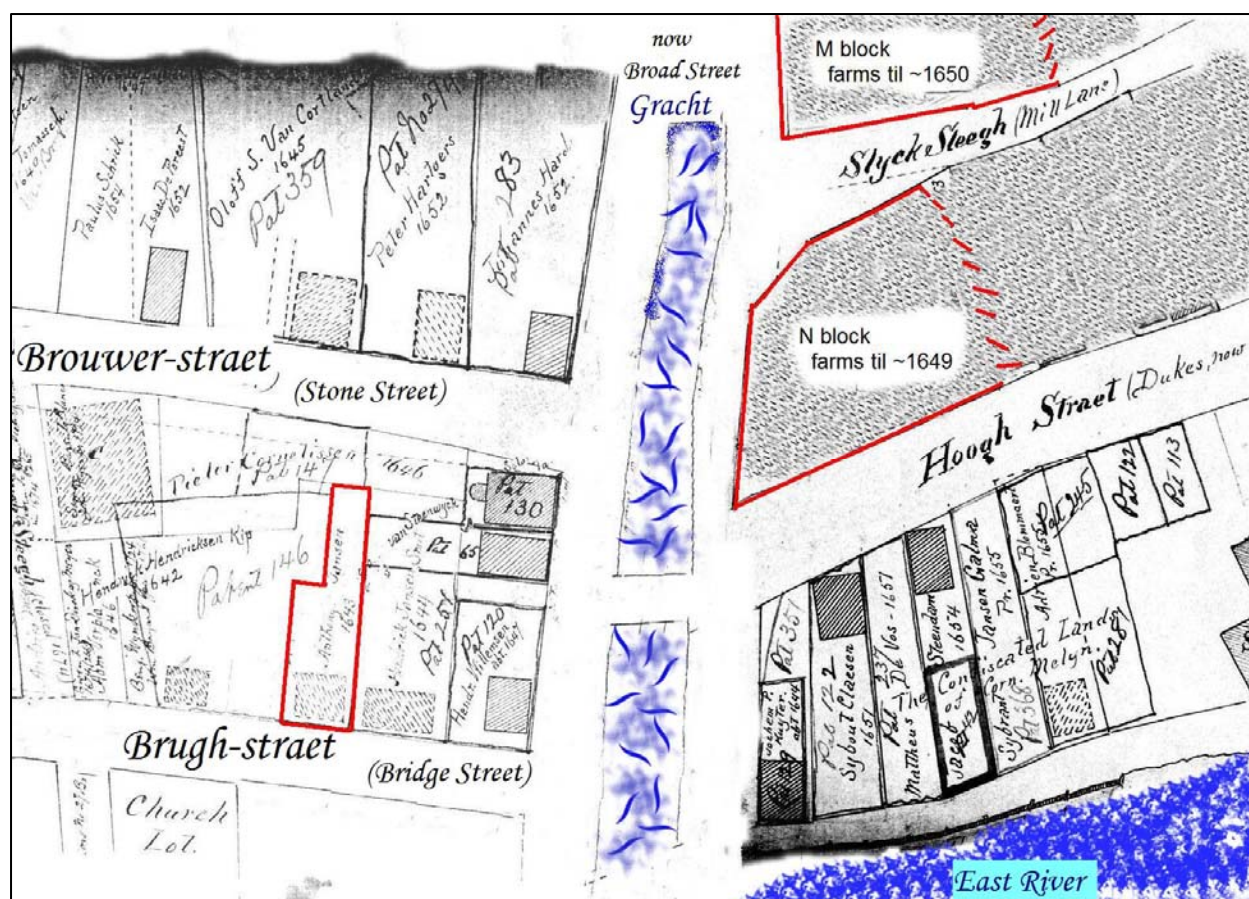
equivalent to \$4,082.00 in 2012. The sale of this lot coincides with the building of several structures south of the Fort starting in 1640.

ANTHONY had a second tract east of the *Gracht* within the confines of the trading post; the actual grant has yet to be found but it probably was very early. This trapezoidal tract measured 115.5' along the *Gracht* and 118.5' at the opposite side; the north edge measured 39' and the southern "towards the highway" was 55.5'. As shown on the map, by 1660 this tract of Block M had been subdivided for residential lots. Roughly now, this tract was east of Broad Street (the *Gracht*) between South William Street (then *Slyck-steeg* meaning Dirty Lane or *Slyck-straet* meaning Mud Street) and Beaver Street (then the road was *Prinsen-straet*). The phrase "towards the highway" probably refers to the *oost zyde*, the lane on the east side of the canal.

A third tract west of the *Gracht* was forfeited by ANTHONY before 1646 for not making the promised improvements. ANTHONY was forced to leave the settlement in 1639 which may account for not fencing in the property or draining the swampland which was called "*a stinking pool*." In 1646 this tract, in "N" block where *Hoogh-straet* met the *Gracht*, was regranted to GOVERT LOCKERMANS. This tract was also a trapezoid, measuring 99' on the *Gracht* and 105' at



the opposite end “next to MICHAEL PAULUZEN”; it was just 38’ on the north side and 69’ on the south “on the public road.” Coincidentally this lot, just like ANTHONY’S earlier *Paerel-straet* home, was immediately east of MICHAEL PAULUZEN’S lot (by this time both *Paerel-straet* houses had been torn down). The earliest description, before streets had names, locates it “on the *Gracht*” placing this lot south of *Bever-straet* and the *Begijn-gracht* as the canal ended at that point. Before 1654 this lot, now at the intersection of Broad and Stone, was bought at a low price by the land speculator JACOB WOLFERTSEN VANCOUWENHOVEN.¹³ On some maps dated after 1646 there is a tract marked “22” north of the palisade. This has mistakenly been believed to mark *bouwery* 22; it does not. That *bouwery* 22 is the same as the forfeited N block tract is clearly shown by the near-identical descriptions of both in land records.



The above map shows ANTHONY’S Brugh-straet home and the sites of two of the three farm lots he had received patents for. The patent for the lot on N block was forfeited because ANTHONY had not fenced in the lot or drained the swampy areas. He did not want to invest in a losing proposition – he was resident on Long Island since 1639 and the Company had started reclaiming farms on the east side of the Gracht around 1645 for housing. It is this tract that was called *bouwery* 22; the 22 found north of the palisade on early maps designated something else.

In 1658 the Burgomasters authorized the building of the Great Dock. Made of two large, curved sections, the Great Dock created an artificial harbor that protected ships from ice in the winter and allowed for direct off-loading of goods instead of anchoring off-shore and shuttling

them in on small boats. The western arm of the dock was an extension of the earlier public dock and was further enhanced by the building of Whitehall Slip on the outer side allowing for ships to dock on both sides of the wharf. The eastern arm was built in front of the *Stadt Huys*. The filling in of the Great Dock would start the outward growth of the island which ended up moving the shoreline three full blocks from where it was when our ancestors first landed there.

After living here for fifteen years and even at this early date, New Amsterdam, small as it was, was becoming truly cosmopolitan – it has been reported that eighteen different languages could be heard in any given month! French still competed with Dutch for being the most prevalent as many of the first inhabitants were French speaking Walloons, Protestants from today's Belgium fleeing the Spanish tyranny.

Many historians have characterized ANTHONY and GRIETJE as being a disagreeable, litigious, argumentative and unpleasant couple. These charges appear to have their origins in the number of times they appear in the court records of New Netherland. I have analyzed the Register of the Provincial Secretary covering 1638 – 1646, the New Netherlands Council Minutes, the Court of Burgomasters & Schepens from 1653 to 10 November 1674 and Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York Volume XIV in which is found information on boundary disputes between Turk's Plantation and the towns of Gravesend and New Utrecht. In these actions, both initiated by ANTHONY, he was found to be in the right and the towns were attempting to steal his land. In the other records are found six instances, excluding court cases, involving slander. Of these ANTHONY was the one slandered on two occasions while being the slanderer once. GRIETJE appears to be the mouthy one as she is charged with slander four times! Of course such charges must be taken with a grain of salt – the Reverend's wife refused to enter a neighbor's home when she saw that GRIETJE was there; not one to leave a snub alone. GRIETJE tailed the woman who, when stepping over the muddy road in front of the blacksmith's shop, hiked her petticoats. GRIETJE, of the dropped-petticoat instance, spread the allegation that the REVEREND's wife was a brazen hussy as she showed her (gasp!) ankles or so states a Court Declaration filed by JACOBUS VAN CURLER on 13 October 1638!!

As for lawsuits, ANTHONY is named in thirty-six: twenty-seven as the defendant and nine as the plaintiff. Now, in my view, this is not a litigious person – he filed nine lawsuits over a period of thirty-six years. Rather it seems that the plaintiffs were the litigious ones – especially during 1638 and 1639 when the *Schout*, or Sheriff, filed several lawsuits against ANTHONY but was successful quite rarely. In the nine cases where ANTHONY was the plaintiff, the Court supported his claim six times and the outcomes of the remaining three are unknown. This demonstrates that ANTHONY had been wronged in one way or another, was able to document the wrong to the Court's satisfaction and another lawbreaker was brought to justice because of his lawsuits. Prone to litigation perhaps, ANTHONY's success rate reflects poorly on his neighbors, not on him.

In the twenty-seven times he was a defendant seven times he either won the case or it was dismissed, the outcomes of four are unknown and the remaining sixteen had negative outcomes for him, including being banished from Manhattan. But even this is misleading – six of these cases involved a series of slander charges all brought on the same day and these were used by the *Fiscal* to initiate proceedings to banish ANTHONY and GRIETJE. The cases of slander themselves were not ruled on. Being banished for slander seems a bit extreme when one considers that those convicted of theft and robbery, piracy, inflicting injury, being drunk and disorderly and a host of other more serious offences were not banished – they were fined, they

may have served time in jail – but for the most part, these criminals were not banished, yet ANTHONY and GRIETJE were banished for calling someone, as the Court record states, “a very bad name.” More research is needed but it would seem there was probably an unspoken motive behind these proceedings – perhaps someone wanted to grab the property ANTHONY owned and hoped to achieve this by having him banished (it didn’t work).

That there was animosity between ANTHONY and GRIETJE and the towns second *domine* or minister, the REVEREND EVEARDUS BOGARDUS and his wife, ANNEKE JANS, is easily documented as early as 3 June 1638. In that month BOGARDUS won a lawsuit on a 319 guilder debt; ANTHONY counter-sued for 74 guilders (\$192.40 in 2012) in September; the Court of Burgomasters & Schepens (hereinafter, the Court) determined in ANTHONY’S favor but for only 7 guilders (\$18.20) on 30 September 1638. In the first half of October there were several Declarations filed in the Court containing a lot of “*he said...*” and “*she said...*” accusations. Some accused ANTHONY of threatening BOGARDUS with bloodshed.

The cause behind the animosity is less clear but religious differences do not seem to be the cause for there isn’t any hint of bad-blood between our couple and New Amsterdam’s first *domine*, REVEREND JONAS MICHAËLIUS. However there clearly existed a feeling of ill will between the DWIC and the settlers in matters of religion. In the United Provinces the freedom to practice whatever religion you wanted was enshrined in law but the law did not extend into the corporate trading companies. The DWIC established the Dutch Reformed Church as the state religion which rankled many. In a similar vein, many writers condemn our couple without thinking – yes, ANTHONY often refused to pay for the *domine*’s salary, despite it being mandated by the DWIC. To pay would mean violating the tenet of Islam prohibiting adherents from providing support to other religions. It is interesting to note that to conform to Company policy, such payments could be made by GRIETJE and, perhaps tellingly, she is never mentioned in any of the disputes involving the *domine*’s salary. Payments made by her on ANTHONY’S behalf couldn’t be proven as such unless noted and it would be hard to fight such charges. Also overlooked by biographers is the condemnation of the less-than-saintly REVEREND by the DIRECTOR-GENERAL and Council in 1646. They accused him of being a habitual drunk, often to the point of stumbling while in the pulpit; he called the former DIRECTOR VAN TWILLER *a child of the Devil* from the pulpit in 1634; he consorted with and defended criminals, notoriously MARYN ADRIAENSEN who attempted to murder DIRECTOR-GENERAL KIEFT in March 1643; he incited riots and was a known liar! These facts, in conjunction with the absence of even-remotely-similar charges being leveled against ANTHONY and GRIETJE, indicate that a large portion of the responsibility rests with the REVEREND and his wife. Some responsibility needs to be apportioned to the escalation of a dispute over money by four strong-willed people into a name-calling spat. It turns out that the obnoxious, unpleasant, conniving and all-around-ugly couple was the REVEREND and MISSUS BOGARDUS and not our ancestors!

While not being as unpleasant as the Reverend and his wife, DIRECTOR-GENERAL WILLEM KIEFT left much to be desired. KIEFT was famed for his ability to equivocate, ruminate and procrastinate. He was quick to call forth the Company trumpeter to sound the alarm from atop the walls of the Fort (which he did quite loudly and at all hours of the day or night), and when military action was required, he bravely sat in his office smoking his pipe. Yet, when negotiations were the solution, he often sent his small force of Dutch soldiers on a murderous and bloody rampage – no one was exempt from their slaughter.

As to ANTHONY being referred to as “*the mulatto*” this author is not convinced that this appellation was used to identify our ANTHONY JANSEN – rather it seems the appellation was used

to identify someone other than ANTHONY JANSEN “*the Turk*.” In June 1654 ANTHONY JANSEN “*the mulatto*” sued WILLIAM STRENGWITS for payment of two months wages at 130 pounds of tobacco per month.¹⁴ At this time ANTHONY was living on his 200 acre Long Island plantation and had several people in his employ; it seems unlikely that he would be working for tobacco when he could easily grow tobacco himself!

1639: BANISHED!

Charges and counter-charges flew fast and furious beginning in the Court on Thursday, 7 October. PHILIP DE TRUY and the schoolmaster ADAM ROELENSTEIN testified that when the Dutch Naval ship *Soutberg* was passing out of its East River anchorage into the Upper Bay in 1633, its deck was crowded with sailors waving to the almost-equally crowded quay. To GRIETJE’S presence the sailors exclaimed their fondness with a strange expression: “*Whore! Whore! Two-pounds butter whore!*” (Perhaps butter was expensive?) GRIETJE apparently responded by lifting her skirts, and maybe petticoats, soundly slapping her backside and exclaiming “*Kussen my dierbaar achterann!*” or something to that effect. What to make of this scandalous testimony (besides it being heresy)? Turns out that such an act was a common occurrence in Amsterdam – women routinely showed their displeasure or taunted others by lifting their skirts and slapping their bare bottoms. Such actions, while being commonplace, were frowned upon; this is obvious from the use of the story to tarnish GRIETJE’S character. Placing such a story in its proper place and time certainly lends it some credence, but it has the distinct flavor of being just another one of the scandalous barbs aimed at GRIETJE and ANTHONY in 1638 and 1639.

“Historians” also relate non-existent Court testimony and put words into GRIETJE’S mouth with alarming frequency.¹⁵ Another witness on 7 October was the midwife LYSBET DIRCKSEN who, some writers claim, testified that, upon the birth of a daughter, she asked LYSBET who was in attendance: “*Does my baby look like my husband or ANDRIES HUDDE?*” That is *not* what DIRCKSEN said; I have found the translation of the original Dutch testimony. LYSBET testified that GRIETJE asked “*Who does my baby look like?*” – HUDDE’S name is not mentioned at all! What mother hasn’t asked that question? In GRIETJE’S case however, unscrupulous writers continue the lie and are guilty of misleading hundreds of readers by giving a far-more-sinister meaning to this commonly-asked question. This is even more ridiculous when we recall that ANTHONY had dark skin and, while not certain, it is a safe assumption that GRIETJE, of Dutch or German descent, was probably fair-skinned. What she was asking was “*Does my daughter look like me or my husband?*” – Nothing more, nothing less. This testimony was offered on 6 October 1638, which is about when CORNELIA was born but DIRCKSEN did not name the child or give any hint as to when the question was asked, which leaves us guessing between CORNELIA or her older sister SARAH, born a few years earlier. What actually happened will probably never be known but to make or repeat the numerous misinterpretations and errors while claiming they are based on Court records, when those records actually argue for the opposite determination is both unethical and amateurish.

The master carpenters EGBERT VAN BORSUM and GILLIS PIETERSEN VAN DER GOU offered their testimony on that same day to the effect that GRIETJE marched into the Fort and shouting “*I have long enough been the whore of the nobility; from now on I shall be the whore of the rabble!*” Some writers add she had two of her daughters with her at the time, again these had to be SARAH and CORNELIA, and continue her quote with “*I shall take these bastards right away*

and dash their brains out against the wall." Historians have misread this by not placing the quote in its proper context:

- **First/When:** *if* she really did this, it had to be prior to August 1639 when they removed to Long Island which means it was done when charges of slander were being filed left-and-right, with testimony given that GRIETJE had been called a whore. Also in August 1639 only two of their daughters, had been born;
- **Second/Who:** who did GRIETJE mean by the "*nobility*" and the "*rabble*"? The *nobility* must mean the Company officials – DIRECTOR-GENERAL WILLEM KIEFT, SECRETARY CORNELIUS VAN TIENHOVEN and the *Fiscal* and possibly the Company-ordered REVEREND EVEARDUS BOGARDUS for it was they who constituted the *nobility* of the colony; and
- **Third/Why & What:** complaints against the Company were growing – they overcharged for everything in the store, the goods they sold were second-rate at best, they undervalued the furs they bought, the low-price livestock they offered for sale wasn't even worth the discounted price and both GRIETJE and ANTHONY were repeatedly named as defendants in spurious lawsuits.

In effect, they were being raped by the Company, hence her declaration: "*I have long enough been the whore of the nobility*" She was saying "*I have been ill-used by the Company officials long enough....*" – it was a protest against bad government, not a self-proclaimed character assassination!

On 14 October the Court forbade Anthony from carrying any weapons other than a knife and ax within town limits. Because GRIETJE said on multiple occasions that BOGARDUS still owed a debt, which was equated with calling him a liar, she was ordered to stand in Fort Amsterdam in two days and

publicly declare at the ringing of the bell (9 pm?) that the minister is an honest man, to acknowledge that she lied falsely, and to pay costs, and three guilders to the poor; her husband ANTHONY is bound to keep the peace towards MR. BOGARDUS and to pay a fine of twelve guilders.

This they apparently did as, two days later, the Court records reflect that GRIETJE REYNIERS had appeared in court and declared,

in the presence of the commander and council, and all the bystanders, that her assertion that the REVEREND MR. EVEARDUS BOGARDUS was a perjurer is a lie; begging pardon of God, the court and minister, and promising to comport herself in future so as to satisfy the authorities.

Anthony then appears in Court on the 21st where he

declares he has nothing to say against MRS. BOGARDUS, acknowledging her to be an honest and virtuous woman, promising that he will never more say anything against her or her husband.

But this wasn't the end of Court for them that year. On 28 October PHILIP DE TRUY accused ANTHONY of stealing his cut wood which he denied; the Court rendered no decision. ANTHONY was owed money by GERREKEN HESSELS and not receiving payment claimed some of HESSELS belongings, quite possibly the goat that appears in a later lawsuit. HESSELS successfully

challenged this in Court on 2 December as ANTHONY had not been sanctioned by the Court to attach his property. ANTHONY's dog was alleged to have attacked a hog belonging to ANTHONY-THE-PORTUGUESE; he successfully sued for damages on 9 December (this may have been 1639).

PHILIP DE TRUY was just one neighbor that ANTHONY and GRIETJE had troubles with. This was followed by JACOBUS VAN CURLER, of the exposed-ankle-scandal of the previous October, who declared on the 8th of March that WYBRAND PIETERSEN called GRIETJE a *whore* and ANTHONY a *rascal*. Several Declarations were then filed with the Court a week later: in one JACOB STOFFELSEN "and others" charge GRIETJE with calling DE TRUY a *liar*, and that "they called each other several bad names"; another from the REVEREND stated that DE TRUY said to GRIETJE REYNIERS "*If you can prove me a liar, then I will prove you a whore*"; while a third also, made by STOFFELSEN, claimed that ANTHONY called DE TRUY a *villain*. The dispute grew so acrimonious that a declaration was filed on 30 March by PHILIP GERRITSEN stating that GRIETJE was not drunk when he ran into her at the home of the miller ABRAHAM PIETERSEN!¹⁶ DE TRUY was one of several people that sued ANTHONY for slander in March 1639; the *Fiscal* (akin to a prosecuting attorney or district attorney; Attorney General at the State and Federal level) used these filings to initiate his own banishment proceedings. It is from these accusations that we hear of GRIETJE's past in Amsterdam: on the 21st of March CORNELIS LAMBERSE COOL says that GRIETJE was discharged for improper conduct when a waiting girl at PETER DE WINTER's tavern in Amsterdam:

MR. COOL "...declared and testified that it is true and truthful that he, the deponent, being with CLAES CORNELISSEN SWITS lodged at Amsterdam, in the house of PIETER DE WINTER, tavern keeper there, at whose house GRIET REYNIERS was a servant, who served him, the deponent, and other guests with liquor, there were among others at the aforesaid house in another chamber some High Dutch soldiers, whom GRIET REYNIERS aforesaid also attended with drink, and as said GRIET REYNIERS did not come quickly enough from said room, her mistress went away and saw through a hole in the door that GRIETJE, above named, had her petticoat upon her knees. The mistress of the house not being well pleased at this, said to me, the deponent, and CLAES SWITS: "I thought I had an honest woman in the house, but she is a nasty whore and must quit here even tomorrow morning." All of which the deponent declares, in place of an oath, to have heard from the aforesaid landlady.

Thus done the 21st of March Ao. 1639 in Fort Amsterdam

This is the X mark of CORNELIS LAMBERSE COOL¹⁷

While in today's courts such a statement is deemed to be hearsay and not admissible, in the Dutch courts of the day such testimony was used to establish, or assassinate, the character of a person. That these proceedings may have been a cover for an attempted land-grab is borne out by DE TRUY's lawsuit against ANTHONY for a piece of land, probably the bouwery he sold to BARENT DIRCKSEN on the 7th of May; the Court found for ANTHONY on 28 April 1639.

The animosity continued to fester, finally culminating in ANTHONY and GRIETJE being expelled from the city by a Court order issued on the 7th of April, 1639, a translation that has not been verified for accuracy has the Court order as:

... having duly considered the said case having heard the parties and examined all the evidence and also taken into consideration that six months ago they were obliged to pray God, the Court and the REVEREND BOGARDUS for forgiveness acknowledging that they had lied in what they had said about him, and promised

expressly to conduct themselves quietly and piously as behooves Christians, and that notwithstanding this the said ANTHONY and GRIETJE have since that time been the cause of various troubles especially on the 10th of March last past, when they came out of the consistory being drunk, all of which are matters of serious consequence which [tend] to disturb and shock the few inhabitants here; therefore, we have condemned as we do hereby condemn hereby, the said ANTHONY JANSEN from Salee and GRIETJEN REYNIERS to depart from the jurisdiction of New Netherland within the space of six months and to remain banished forever, and in addition to pay the costs of the trial ...

Some of the wording makes this author suspicious of the accuracy of the translation – no Court order mentions asking BOGARDUS for forgiveness and why the mention of behaving as good *Christians* when it was a well-known fact that ANTHONY was Muslim? In any event the banishment wasn't strictly observed – it wasn't *permanent* as they moved back into town in 1669 and Anthony kept a room for his use at his property on Brugh-straet from the day he bought the place in 1643 until he moved back to town. They never left New Netherland, they only moved across the river from New Amsterdam; if they had been banished from the province, the Director-General would never have sold him 200 acres on Long Island in August 1639!

An inventory of the disposition of Company-owned livestock was completed on the 22nd of March, 1639 – two horses, a mare and a stallion, had been sold to ANTHONY from bouwery 6 since the previous inventory. Another record has ANTHONY “*buying horses*” from the DIRECTOR-GENERAL around the same time, either WOUTER VAN TWILLER until 1638 or KIEFT beginning that year, which may just a duplication of the first-mentioned record.¹⁸ Apparently livestock got our ancestors into almost as much trouble as their mouths did. On the 31st of March, 1639 he was sued successfully by GERREKEN HESSELS for delivery of a young goat, perhaps the “attached property” from the earlier suit; and before August 1639 ANTHONY was sued by the “who does my baby look like?” ANDRIES HUDDE for the return of three milch goats he had temporarily loaned or rented to ANTHONY. A bond was put up as surety for their return by CLAES JANSEN RUYTER on 13 February 1640 and on 1 March 1640 the Court decided in favor of HUDDE.

1639 - 1669: LANGE EYLANDT

BACKGROUND

In 1636 the Dutch purchase land including the native village of *Quawancka* on Gravensend Bay from the Canarsie tribe. This purchase is found on a 1639 Dutch map; the specifics of this purchase have yet to be located.

The Dutch population, decimated during Kieft's War, the remnant huddling in the squalid Fort, and the smoking ruins of the rest of the colony is what greeted PETRUS STUYVESANT when he arrived in May in 1647. Some writers say that ANTHONY, GRIETJE and their four daughters, CORNELIA, SARAH, ANNICA and EVA, were all on hand to give a sound farewell to the despised KIEFT as well as size-up his replacement which seems likely as it was reported that the “whole town” turned out for the changing-of-the-guard. WASHINGTON IRVING, writing as DIEDRICH KNICKERBOCKER, paints for us the scene of the bustling town upon his arrival aptly:

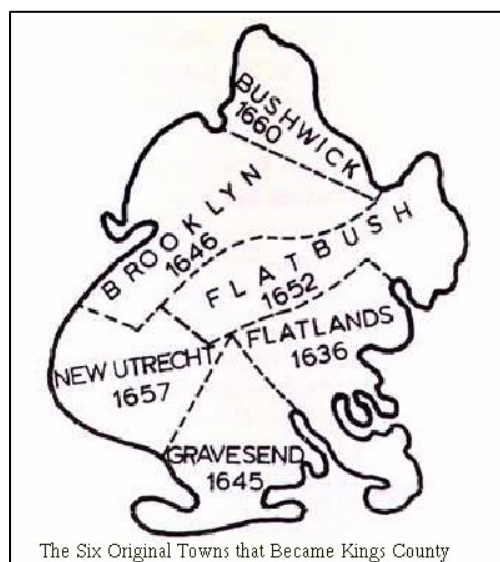
New Amsterdam, though fortified by flagstuffs, trumpeters and windmills, seemed, like some fair lady of easy virtue, to lay open to attack and ready to yield to the first invader.

In the latter part of 1650 STUYVESANT was forced into negotiations with the New England governor's over a Long Island boundary dispute with the determination that the New Netherland colony included only the western one-third of the island reaching about ten miles inland from the North or Hudson River to Oyster Bay on the north shore, much to the detriment of the Dutch. In response STUYVESANT took an aggressive stance against the religious practices of the English, demanding attendance by everyone within the colony to Dutch Reformed Church services and he then expelled a Lutheran minister, a Quaker and at least one Baptist.¹⁹ Shortly after these negotiations BAXTER, HUBBARD, GROVER and other prominent Gravensande residents threw off their allegiance to Holland thereby reneging on their contract to supply the DWIC with one-tenth of their production beginning in 1652. Their plan to form an independent colony under Connecticut's protection came to naught as additional concessions to the town dangled the prospect of displacing New Amsterdam as the center of trade. The outbreak of the Dutch-Anglo War in 1652 thwarted the Englishmen's plans. Being surrounded by a palisade Gravensande was thought to be capable of managing their own defense but instructions were given that upon attack, all residents were to vacate to Fort Amsterdam. This was interpreted as an abandonment of subjects of the English crown which the Dutch had agreed to protect and became the basis for the claim of the Governor's of both Connecticut and New Haven to all of Long Island. In May 1654 CROMWELL announced his intention to drive out the Dutch under the same pretense of protection and even sent a squadron of four men-of-war to Boston. This came to naught as the War ended on 23 June 1654. The DWIC urged STUYVESANT to take more stringent measures against the English and he removed BAXTER and HUBBARD as magistrates and imprisoned them at Fort Amsterdam. Surely our ancestor JAMES GROVER would have joined them had it not been for the fact that he was on his way to England to present CROMWELL with the declaration of allegiance. In late August 1655, STUYVESANT sailed with a military force in seven ships to Delaware Bay to do away with New Sweden, taking with him most of Fort Amsterdam's cannons and all but twenty soldiers. What is usually called the Indian uprising of 15 September 1655 was in actuality a counter-attack by the allies of the Swedes. Somewhere between 600 and 2,000 Swedish allies, in 64 canoes, descended on New Amsterdam and Staten Island; they were from southern New Jersey and Pennsylvania, not the local New York tribes that have often been accused of attacking the settlements. Within 24 hours of receiving notification of the attack 200 Dutch soldiers had practically ran through all of New Jersey and were manning the walls of the Fort. STUYVESANT sailed in shortly after the exhausted troops arrived and the counter attack was foiled. Further souring Dutch-Anglo relations was the fact that Long Island was *not* attacked and the Dutch made much of the fact that the English of Gravensande were safe to move about freely without fear of attack; ignored is the fact that the Dutch of Gravensande were, likewise, safe.²⁰ The Dutch accused the English of conspiring with the Indians, but this is still a contested charge and, in any event, such an alliance was not required.

In 1663 CROMWELL issued a patent that granted all of Long Island to the Connecticut colony in violation of the 1650 treaty; on the 9th of October the General Court at Hartford heard a petition of residents from Gemeco (Jamaica), Middleburgh and Hemestede requesting protection. The Court surely disappointed HUBBARD, the petition's bearer, when they postponed making a decision. Despite Hartford's refusal to get involved, several towns declared for Hartford and dismissed the Dutch officials. Ultimately a temporary settlement was reached – each town would be free to determine their allegiance and whatever that decision may be, there would be no military intervention by either side.

1664: OVERTHROW OF NEW NETHERLAND

On the 1st of January, 1664 the towns of Gravesend, Hempstead, Flushing, Middleburgh, Jamaica and Oyster Bay declared their independence and union as a separate colony until such time as the DUKE OF YORK could establish a government. The towns of Breuckelen, Midwout, Nieuw Amersfoort, Boswyck and Nieuw Utrecht declared for Holland. STUYVESANT did not have the strength or backing to put down the revolt and was forced into an agreement allowing the six rebellious towns to remain under KING OF ENGLAND for a period of twelve months. GOVERNOR WINTHROP from Connecticut immediately claimed all of Long Island for his colony and Long Island was lost to New Netherland nine months before the rest of the colony fell. When CROMWELL'S fleet arrives in August 1664, consisting of the 36-gun *Guinea*, the 30-gun *Elias*, the 16-gun *Martin* and the 10-gun *William and Nicholas*, they first dropped anchor in Gravesend Bay below the Narrow's and just offshore from Turk's Plantation before proceeding to New Amsterdam. ANTHONY and GRIETJE were two of ninety-three prominent residents that signed a statement that informed STUYVESANT that they supported an English take over and they would not support a fight.²¹ Even more convincing was the declaration of 96 soldiers, of the 150 present, that STUYVESANT did not have their approval to oppose the English.²² Faced with the facts, plus the numerous English from both Dutch and English territory that had armed and were lining the shores of Long Island just waiting for the signal to attack, STUYVESANT had little option but to surrender. It has been written that ANTHONY and GRIETJE were present at 8 am on 6 September 1664 when the formal surrendering of the colony took place at Fort Amsterdam.



After the Dutch formally surrendered, two competing factions arose for possession of Long Island: colonial rule under Connecticut's GOVERNOR WINTHROP or direct rule by the DUKE OF YORK. A reading of the colonial patents satisfied the English courts – the Island belonged to the DUKE OF YORK. Thus, the DUKE'S patent of 22 March 1664 extended from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of the Delaware included Manhattan, New Jersey and *Yorkshire*. All land not included in the first two – specifically, the area north of Manhattan, Long Island and Staten Island – comprised *Yorkshire*. On Manhattan, New Amsterdam became New York; New Jersey was granted to the LORDS PROPRIETOR BERKELEY and CARTERET and *Yorkshire*, from 1665 to 1675, was divided into three districts or *ridings*: the East Riding encompassed eastern

Long Island (later Suffolk County); western Long Island was split into north and south: the West Riding included the southern part of western Long Island (later Kings County) plus the town of Middleburgh (Newtown) in the northwestern part of Long Island plus all of Staten Island (Richmond County after 1683) while the North Riding containing the northern part of western Long Island (later Queens County) minus Middleburgh and the area north of Manhattan (later Westchester County). Between 1675 and 1683 Staten Island was separated from the West Riding while in 1683 the riding system was abandoned all-together in favor of the county system.

The west end of Long Island is divided into the northern Queens County and the southern Greater New York City borough of Brooklyn. Brooklyn was previously Kings County. Its several towns are divided by nationality:

<u>Dutch towns</u>	<i>and</i>	<u>English towns</u>
Breuckelen (chartered 1646) Flatbush (1654) Amersfoort (settled 1645, chartered 1654, Flatlands) Bushwick (1661) New Utrecht (1661)	<u>Kings Co</u>	Gravensande (1645, Gravesend)
Beverwyck (1652) Midwout (1653)	<u>Queens Co</u>	Mespath, destroyed 1643 Middleburgh (1642, Newtown) Heemestede (1644, Hempstead)

Dutch towns were usually settled well before a town charter was issued while the English towns were chartered first, then settled. Brooklyn's *six original towns* are Brooklyn, Flatbush, Bushwick, Gravesend, New Utrecht and Flatlands.

The arrival of ANTHONY and GRIETJE between August and November 1639 makes them *the first Europeans to live on Long Island* according to some. The eight Englishmen arrested in 1640 near Hempstead were settlers who may have been there before the JANSEN'S arrived. However, this can be overcome if we modify their status to read they were *the first permanent European settlers on Long Island* (those arrested were expelled). They are also counted as being among the founders of two towns – Gravesend (1645) and New Utrecht (1657). It would be more correct to say that ANTHONY and GRIETJE were among the first *to sue the founders* of both towns! While being banished may not seem good, it may have been very



fortunate for us as our ancestors may have survived *because* they were removed from New Amsterdam by their supposed 1639 banishment from New Netherland as will be seen. Three other Europeans settled in the area before the first town to stay, 's-Gravesande, was founded. CORNELIS LAMBERTSEN COOL, our source for the Amsterdam/ GRIETJE wardrobe malfunction scandal; he received a warrant for two tracts of land totaling 28 morgens (~56 acres) on the 5th of April 1642: one called *Gowanus* and the other "*a part of the meadow, situate near the valley of ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE.*" ANTHONY's land was further surrounded on 29 November 1645 by a grant of about 180 acres to ROBERT PINOYER which extended:

along the strand of ANTHONY JANSEN from the meadow, N.N.W. 45 rods, N. by W. 30 rods, N.N.E. and N. by E. 45 rods, then through the woods to MYLADY MOODY'S E.S.E. and S.E. by E. between both 275 rods along the land of MYLADY S.S.W. 225 rods to the meadow, thence along the meadow with some curves to ANTHONY JANSEN'S land.

GYSBERT OP DYCK'S 1644 88-acre patent is believed to have been located mainly on the most western of the 3 islands that were combined to form the larger and improved Coney Island. This became Gysbert's Island.

ANTHONY'S extensive land holdings in what is now Brooklyn are fully investigated and discussed in Appendix 4; the topic is much too long to be included in its entirety in the main text. He petitioned the Director-General on 1 August 1639 for a parcel of land on the North River in order to support himself. On 3 August 1639 ANTHONY received a patent from Director-General, unfortunately this document is missing. The 1639 patent was in the State Archives at Albany in 1845 according to NATHANIEL PRIME who made that statement in his History of Long Island published in that year, but, because of the many errors in this book, all statements need to be independently verified. PRIME'S pseudo-bio of ANTHONY goes something like this: he was a younger brother of GEORGE JANSEN DE RAPALJE, both French Huguenots who lived near a river named Sale. His entire Moroccan life, including the Islamic religion, was the result of mixing up the unidentified but named Sale River in France with the city of Salee in Morocco. A confirmatory patent was issued on 27 May 1643 that confirmed the content of the earlier one. This leads to one likely conclusion: patents accounting for land of up to 3,000 acres are missing. The 1643 patent accounts for less than 10% of ANTHONY'S land holdings – it's for 100 morgens (200 acres) “*over against Conyne Eylant*” (Coney Island) extending along the shore 253 rods (4174.5 feet) with a yearly fee of 100 Carolus guilders (about \$26.00) for 10 years and thereafter the same quit-rent as others pay. The 1643 patent:

We, WILLEM KIEFT, Director General and Council of New Netherland etc., herewith testify and declare, that on the first of August 1639 we have given and granted to ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE one hundred morgens of land lying on the bay of the North river upon Long Island opposite Coney Island, stretching along the shore two hundred and fifty-three rods, N.N.W., from the shore about N.E. by E. two hundred and thirty-six rods, again along a bluff one hundred and twenty-four rods about S.E., S.W. by W., twenty-four rods, S. fifty-four rods, further to the strand S.W. by W. one hundred and seventy-four rods, with some points of land lying on the south side, containing eighty-seven morgens, forty-nine and one-half rods, also a point of land stretching southward from the house, surrounded on three sides by meadows, reaching S.W. by W. seventy-two rods, S.E. by S. ninety rods being an oblong with some protruding points containing twelve morgens, five hundred fifty and one-half rods, under the express condition and stipulations etc etc

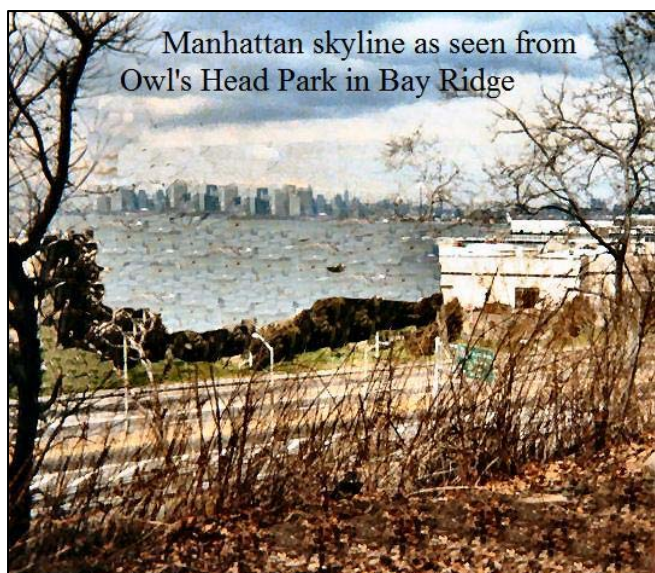
Done at Fort Amsterdam in the N.N. this 27th of May 1643

WILLEM KIEFT

By order etc CORMELIS VAN TIENHOVEN,

*Secretary*²³

The largest tract was called the *Old Bowery*, containing about 87+ morgens or about 175 acres, and the second tract was called *Twelve Morgen* and had about 25 acres. The two tracts were



connected by a narrow strip of sand hills, later referred to as the Neck of marsh or meadow.²⁴ *Old Bowery* was said to encompass the village of Unionville but a little-known 1787 drawing of the tracts places it on Coney Island; in fact, this drawing shows that all 3 tracts in the 1643 patent were southeast of “ANTHONY JANSEN’S plantation” which supports my previous statement: only a fraction of his lands are accounted for in the existing patent. Brooklyn now contains between 45,440 and 62,016 acres (71 – 96.9 square miles, depending on the source consulted). The distance from Coney Island to Owl’s Head Park is about 8 miles; for a tract to take in both places, its acreage would

number in the thousands. Coney Island, whose area fluctuated with each season, contained 388 acres in 1842.²⁵ *Old Bowery*’s 175 acres fits quite nicely on the western half of the island. 200 acres can not account for all the descriptions found in connection with ANTHONY’S land: west of Gravesend, on Coney Island, the Neck to *Twelve Morgen*, adjacent to New Utrecht, encompassing Unionville and Guntherville and extending north to Owl’s Head Park in Bay Ridge – it is impossible to be all of these and only 200 acres!

ANTHONY’S land, named *Turk’s Plantation*, was in addition to the 3 tracts described in the 1643 patent; *Old Bowery* and *Twelve Morgen* took in the southern and eastern shores of Gravesand Bay; the plantation continued this on the north shore through Guntherville and Unionville (now Bath Beach) and continuing along the shore of Lower New York Bay to Owl’s Head Park in Bay Ridge (formerly Yellow Hook) containing up to 2,800 acres. ANTHONY and GRIETJE lived on *Turk’s Plantation* for over twenty years where they raised their four daughters before moving into Gravesend in 1660.

In February 1643 Dutch soldiers slaughtered hundreds of natives on orders from KIEFT. Native warriors retaliated in August; they destroyed Gravensande and Mespath. Forewarned, the inhabitants headed for the safety of the Fort at Nieuw Amersfoort (Flatbush). *Turk’s Plantation*, with GRIETJE and ANTHONY and their four daughters on site, was left in peace. This is a testament to ANTHONY’S good relationship with his Lenape neighbors. However, the people who lost property insinuated that ANTHONY was somehow in cahoots with the natives and their loss was his fault to some extent...*sour grapes*.

Later in that same year two pirate ships put ashore on ANTHONY’S land. The fact that they put ashore on ANTHONY’S land was because his plantation encompassed the entire coastline from Coney Island up through Lower New York Bay; the crew certainly couldn’t put ashore inland, could they? There was no option but to put ashore on ANTHONY’S farm. Apparently **200 pumpkins** (allegedly from Gravesend) were stolen by pirates on the *Seven Stars* and a privateer sailing *La Garce* (some haul!). This robbery was reported by RICHARD AESTIN, AMBROSE LOVE and RICHARD STOUT on 13 October. They stated that some hogs on Coney Island were targeted but, upon learning they belonged to LADY DEBORAH MOODY, they decided to leave them behind (what considerate pirates!). The declarants neglect to say just how they learned all these details.

An investigation followed and the declaration filed states that both ships were searched and their captains interviewed; the only cargo was a bunch of cabbages; both captains deny the charge and have an alibi for the time of the alleged robbery; *the earlier declaration was not true*. While completely ignoring the facts as presented – there was no robbery – some researchers imply that ANTHONY was somehow complicit in the crime in a “chip off the old block” manner; he must be involved after all his father was a pirate and some even claim, without any support, ANTHONY was one as well. There isn’t one bit of evidence, or even innuendo, to support this ridiculous statement, never mind that the robbery never happened!

ANTHONY negotiated with the Canarsies, a Lenape tribe based in western Long Island, over a period of years for their land which either included the village of *Massabrakem* or near it. That native village is given both as the site of Gravesend village and as being within ANTHONY’S land – obviously both can not be correct. ANTHONY’S purchase was confirmed by the Canarsie on 26 September 1651. Obtaining title to the land was probably his response to an attempt by the patentees of Gravensande to grab his land. They had made a purchase from the Canarsie as found in a deed dated 1 November 1650. This purchase violated the terms of the town charter which prohibited the town from obtaining any lands that were already inhabited. It is not known if the Gravensande purchase was voided or not.

That individual personalities played a huge role in the various disputes involving our ancestors is shown by the return of ANTHONY and GRIETJE to the good graces of the Company officers shortly after STUYVESANT’S 1647 arrival; their business dealings in the town increased and by the end of the 1660s ANTHONY moved back into the house on *Brugh-straet*. Well before this ANTHONY is known to have been in town as a court judgment entered on 12 September 1641 ordered him to pay for goods sold and delivered by ISAAC ALLERTON “*before leaving Manhattan Island*.” Another instance is when ANTHONY is ordered to “*to not leave Manhattan*” on the 17th of October, 1656 in connection with ongoing lawsuits with the town of Gravensande over ownership of hay grown on disputed meadowland.

Trouble with laborers was another of ANTHONY’S headaches – JURIAEN HENDRICKSEN sued ANTHONY in 1643 for payment for work done which ANTHONY disputed.²⁶ ANTHONY hired JACOB TEUNISSEN in 1655. JACOB worked for ten weeks at the rate of 4 florins per week and requested the 40 florins owed. ANTHONY refused to pay because JACOB had not fulfilled the terms of the contract: one year with compensation being 150 florins, two pairs of shoes and free washing. Upon expiration of the year ANTHONY would fulfill his terms of the contract. TEUNISSEN sued and the case plodded through Court until at least August 1656 when the record goes silent.²⁷

They leased part of their plantation to EDMUND ADLEY on 2 September 1646 for 4 years. The English translation of the lease is:

Before me, CORMELIS VAN TIENHOVEN, Secretary of New Netherland, appeared ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE, who in the presence of the witnesses here underwritten declared and acknowledged that he leased his bouwery situate below the narrows (door de hoofden) on Long Island to EDMUND ADLEY, who also acknowledged to have hired it for the term of four consecutive years, commencing on the 2nd of last September and ending on the 2nd of September 1650. ANTHONY JANSEN shall also be bound to have built a house fit to live in, and the Lessee (appended note says should read Lessor) shall cause the arable land to be enclosed once for all with posts and

rails, which fence EDMUND remains bound to deliver back, on the expiration of the four years as good (at least tight) as it now be delivered, and the Lessee promises to keep the house and fence in repair at his own expense during the lease. The Lessee shall annually pay as rent of the aforesaid Bowery, cattle and implements which ANTHONY now delivers, the sum of two hundred guilders the first year, and two hundred and fifty guilders every year the three succeeding years, with five pounds of butter annually. The other property ANTHONY JANSEN now delivers, as per the subjoined inventory ADLEY is bound to restore at the end of the lease, when the number of the cattle that the Lessee (Lessor?) now delivers shall first of all be deducted, and then the increase shall be divided half and half between the Lessor and the Lessee. It is also expressly stipulated that the risk of the cattle shared be shared in common both by the Lessor and Lessee during the lease, and if any of the cattle happen to die, the loss must first of all be made good from the increase. ANTHONY promises to furnish as much seed corn as he can. [part of manuscript destroyed]

Property, implements and cattle inventory acknowledged as received by ADLEY:

- *1 stallion, 12 years old; 1 stallion of 3 years.*
- *1 mare of 4 years. EDMUND shall allow one stallion colt and two bull calves, at the end of the four years, though the colt may be grown, and the bull calves, oxen; because ANTHONY receives so little butter; of which colt and calves the Lessee runs no risk, unless the animals be lost through the Lessee's negligence.*
- *Two cows in good condition.*
- *Two new plows and appurtenances.*
- *1 wagon and appurtenances.*
- *One harrow with iron teeth; 2 spades; 2 scythes; 2 siths and hasps.*
- *1 handsaw; one iron sledge; 1 iron maul; 1 churn and fixtures.*
- *One axe; one cream pot; two pails; one handmill; one fan; one pitchfork; three forks; one three-pronged fork; three horse collars with one long rope, being a fore and aft trace.*
- *One carpenter's adze; one ditto axe; 1 sickle, 1 hook; one auger; one long gun.*

The lease, recorded 6 September 1646, unfortunately, does not specify the size of the “*bouwery situate below the narrows*” so we have no way of knowing the location of the leased property. ANTHONY and GRIETJE had lived on the plantation for several years by 1646; they already had a home and several farm buildings. The stipulation in the lease requiring ANTHONY to build a house for his tenant tells us that the leased area did not have buildings, otherwise the buildings already standing would be included in the lease and there would be need for such a stipulation. ANTHONY would fence in the property leased while ADLEY was responsible for its maintenance. Interestingly, ANTHONY was cited by the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens on 20 April 1648 for not erecting such a fence but, again, the records are not specific. Other records yet-to-be-discussed establish without a doubt that ANTHONY often leased out portions of his plantation. This was not to be a rewarding landlord-tenant relationship; just six weeks later, on 18 October 1646, ANTHONY sued ADLEY for damages to his cattle and bouwery. The case was referred to two magistrates of Breukelen, JAN EVERTSEN BOUT (one of ANTHONY's former neighbors on *Paerel-straet*) and HUYCK AERTSEN, who were commissioned “*to examine JANSEN's stock and bouwery and determine whether ADLEY acts as an honest tenant; if he do not, he shall quit premises or give security.*” Unfortunately the disposition of the case has not yet been found so it can not be said with certainty that ADLEY remained a tenant.

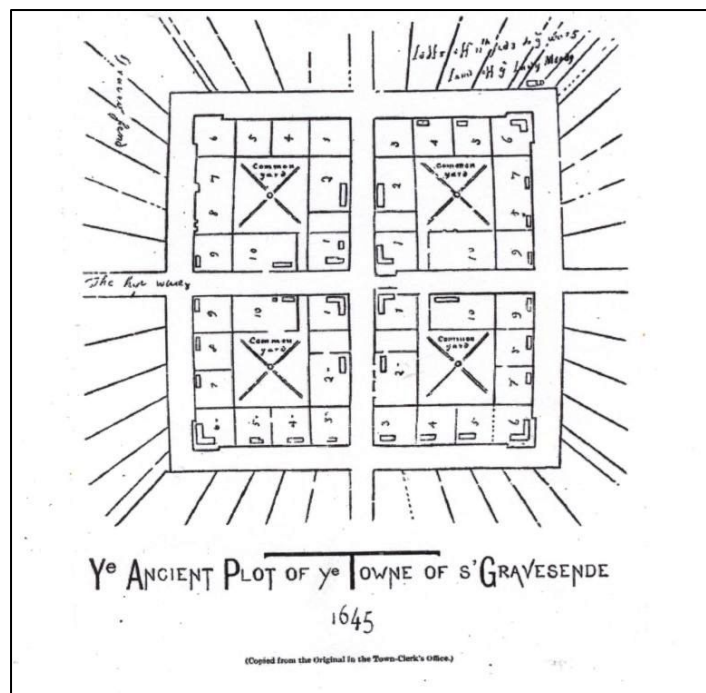
1651: A DAUGHTER'S DOWRY

ANTHONY and GRIETJE'S daughter ANNICA married THOMAS SOUTHARD on 29 December 1650. THOMAS was born in Leyden, Holland in 1615 and lived there for 25 years before immigrating to the New World and taking up farming near *Turk's Plantation*. Despite his Dutch birth, he was English through-and-through, his parents having fled the pro-Catholic England of CHARLES I. Whether this exacerbated his in-law troubles or not isn't certain. A dispute arose between the two when THOMAS claimed that his father-in-law either refused to honor an agreement they had made regarding either land or livestock before the marriage or, as others have written, ANTHONY seized cattle that THOMAS believed were rightfully his (which doesn't preclude the first version). The suit was first placed by THOMAS before the magistrates of Gravensande on 22 December 1653, who arrested ANTHONY about six weeks later – whether this was done at THOMAS' request or not, the records do not say. The DIRECTOR-GENERAL intervened and ordered the magistrates of the town to release him and called them to account as they had no authority to take such an action. He also ordered the dispute moved to the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens because the magistrates were not empowered to decide matters such as this. The Court heard the complaint at City Hall and referred the matter to two examiners, DAVID PROVOOST and HENDRICK KIP, to determine the facts and reach a settlement. The case dragged on for several months; in no small part due to ANTHONY'S attorney D. VAN SCHELLUYNE failing to respond to the complaint. Two councilors, SILLE and LAMONTAGNE, were appointed to effect settlement after the examiners failed to reach a settlement. The councilors were, likewise, unsuccessful. The case was ultimately appealed to the DIRECTOR-GENERAL and the Council but the outcome isn't clear. The last court record is dated 7 March 1654. It is reported by some the case was resolved in ANTHONY'S favor.²⁸ Perhaps THOMAS dropped the matter after it was made clear that ANTHONY'S arrest had been illegal and the party responsible for the arrest could be held liable. Despite the lack of a verdict, the results are clear and they apparently did not satisfy THOMAS; he soon thereafter removed himself, and his wife, to the town of Hempstead. There he built a new life and a new home, one which would remain in the SOUTHARD family until the first decade of the 21st century!

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

GRAVENSANDE

Gravensande (Gravesend) was an English town founded by those fleeing the tyrannical New England colonial governments. It was located east of *Turk's Plantation*; the first town began to be settled in 1642 but was destroyed by natives the following year. It is now accepted that KIEFT named the settlement, which loosely translated means Count's land or Count's beach. It may have been named after the town of 's-Gravensande in South Holland. The town was the seat for the Counts of



Holland before moving to The Hague. The grateful English could be counted on to defend DIRECTOR-GENERAL KIEFT against the growing anger of the Dutch citizens who had filed formal complaints at The Hague. The village was destroyed during Kieft's War (1642 – 1645) when warriors descended in August 1643. The few townspeople fled east to the safety of the Dutch fort at Nieuw Amersfoort (Flatbush). Almost immediately upon the War's ending, KIEFT reconfirmed a previous warrant by granting a town charter for Gravensande on 19 December 1645 to LADY DEBORAH MOODY, her son SIR HENRY MOODY, ENSIGN GEORGE BAXTER and SERGEANT JAMES HUBBARD; in the original there are 28 land holders named. The town proper that was laid out in 1645 contained 16 acres. Divided into 28 lots in 1645, a reconfiguration made the following year allowed for 40 lots divided into 4 quadrants of 10 lots each with a common space in the middle; the lots were awarded by a lottery. Each quadrant had 7 perimeter and 3 internal lots with a section of land set aside for common-use: Old Gravesend Cemetery is in the center of the southwest quadrant, while the town hall, the public school and the village church were at the intersection of Gravesend Road (now McDonald Avenue) and Gravesend Neck Road at the center of town. 28 lots were on the perimeter lying across a lane from the seven-foot high palisade that enclosed the town. The remaining twelve lots were inside on either the north-south Gravesend Road or the east-west Gravesend Neck Road. Each of the 28 peripheral lots included 25 morgens (50 acres) of land immediately adjacent to their town-lot but outside the palisade with *sufficient upland for 6 head of cattle and meadows proportionate*; the owner was required to erect a fence at the outside perimeter of their outer lots. Sand dunes and salt marsh made up a significant part of the out lots, especially those closest to Sheepshead Bay. Our ancestor JAMES GROVER is one of the original inhabitants, owning lot number 18 in the 1645 division and lot 20 in the 1646 division. The 1646 layout is still evident with the roads on the inside of the palisade named Village Road South, Village Road East, Village Road North and Van Sicklen Street. On 1 November 1650 the sale of Gravensande to the Dutch by the Canarsie tribe was confirmed. JAMES HUBBARD was the *Schout* of Gravensande and GEORGE BAXTER was one of STUYVESANT'S English negotiators in the settlement and a Gravensande magistrate; BAXTER was also an associate of van TIENHOVEN who favored extermination to end trouble with the Native American tribes in contrast to the peace policy pursued by STUYVESANT and desired at The Hague. LIEUTENANT NICOLAS STILLWELL received his commission as LIEUTENANT and was appointed *Schout* of the Dutch possessions on Long Island on 12 April 1660. In 1653 the Dutch allied with certain native tribes for the purpose of attacking English settlements, unfortunately it is not clear if those settlements were in the colony or in New England. On the 8th of September in 1655 the magistrates of Gravensande notified the outlying Dutch of an impending attack; five Dutchmen, including ANTHONY, requested a rescue expedition be sent to his farm:

Honored General

We are at present surrounded by savages. Those who only are permitted to approach, viz., Englishmen, say that the savages do not confide in them (the English). That the Indians do not intend to delay long, but perhaps may execute their plan to-night, and that we ought to solicit reinforcement as soon as possible. As to the English, whatever they pretend to the contrary, they permit the savages to go and return, and there is no doubt that the blow is intended to strike our heads. We do not, at any rate, expect ant assistance from the English, so that we all remain with out wives and children in a dreadful anxiety. Wherefore we solicit your honor, with all earnestness and humility, to assist us as speedily as possible.

In lieu of a rescue expedition, orders were sent for the outlying farmers to take refuge in Gravensande and 20 soldiers were sent to bolster the defense of the protected town, a move that proved unnecessary as the anticipated attack never materialized. STRONG'S History of Flatbush relates that there was a fierce attack in 1655 that the inhabitants of Gravesend could not repulse. They were, however, able to hold their ground until soldiers arrived from Fort Amsterdam. The inhabitants were polarized into an English majority with a Dutch minority. LIEUTENANT NICOLAS STILLWELL led the Dutch faction despite being English. STILLWELL received his commission as LIEUTENANT and was appointed *Schout* of the Dutch possessions on Long Island on 12 April 1660. ENSIGN BAXTER, SERGEANT HUBBARD and another of our ancestors, JAMES GROVER, rallied the citizens to the English flag; they hoped to achieve a quasi-independent status under the protection of the colony at Connecticut or Rhode Island.

The trouble first starts in February 1654 when the Gravensande magistrates arrested ANTHONY for trespassing on town lands. This violated the town's charter which limited the magistrates to actions involving less than 50 Dutch guilders. The Provincial Council issued an order on the 25th of February commanding the magistrates to immediately release ANTHONY from confinement and to answer for their actions before the DIRECTOR-GENERAL and Council. On 7 May 1654 the town of Gravensande attempted to bolster their case by "purchasing" Coney Island and the strip of land connecting *Twelve Morgen* and *Old Bouwery*. They paid GUTTAQUOH about the equivalent of \$15.00 in *sewant*, guns and gunpowder. The land in this fraudulent deed had been owned by ANTHONY JANSEN since 1639. The town regularly ignored the limiting phrase in their patent – any land they wished to buy could only be from the land owned by the Company that was not previously accounted for. Our ancestor JAMES GROVER was one of the grantees, acting on behalf of the town, for two tracts bought from PAPOMORA on 7 April and 5 June 1665; it is not known if these were yet more illegal moves by the town to steal land from the rightful owners. Lawsuits over the town boundaries were still in courts at the end of the 19th century; the lawsuits stem mainly from the town's repeated attempts to grab land they were not entitled to but also from unclear or non-specific descriptions found in the patents – just *which* creek was meant when it said "*beginning at the mouth of a creek adjacent to Coneyne Island ...*"; from extended periods of time when one party abandoned the land in question; a lot of the land was marshy and difficult to survey properly. The early suits between ANTHONY and the town were settled in ANTHONY's favor: the townspeople of Gravensande were claiming more than their patent allowed. Some of the more noteworthy items that surfaced in the lawsuits are: the disingenuous way the town sited "*the creek adjacent to Coneyne Island*" on the north shore of Gravesend Bay where a small brook drained into that body which was no-small-distance from Coney Island Creek. ANTHONY responded to these illegal encroachments in kind: on 3 March 1654 he sued Gravensande for trespass and the matter was set to be heard on 3 September; he hired DIRCK VAN SCHELLUYNE to represent him in Council.²⁹ The case dragged on for two more years after which time the Council decided in ANTHONY's favor and ordered the town to restore all property and barred them from taking any action against him or his property. Deciding to defy the Council's decision, the town claimed ANTHONY's land as their own and grazed their cattle in his meadows. ANTHONY did likewise with his cattle; the town confiscated 24 of his cattle. The DIRECTOR-GENERAL had enough – he ordered the magistrates to be detained in New Amsterdam on charges of contempt for a trial in an Extraordinary Session at Fort Amsterdam on 21 August 1656. The town's complaints were determined to be unfounded and STUYVESANT ordered the magistrates held until such time they complied with the Council's orders, paid all court fees and paid damages to ANTHONY. In addition the magistrates and interested parties were ordered to

appear at Fort Amsterdam on 26 August where the Council stated, again, what the town limits were, according to their own charter as well as ANTHONY'S deeds. On 3 (or 13) August 1658 ANTHONY notified STUYVESANT that an *armed band from Gravesend* had again driven off 24 of his cattle and threatened him with a *mishap* if it happened again.³⁰ This was a foolish threat as ANTHONY was well-over 6' tall and stronger than anyone around.

This effectively ended the dispute (as far as we are concerned), not because the town complied with the orders, but because ANTHONY sold the plantation! Legal proceedings continue through the 19th century, a colossal waste of the town's resources and significant legal fees for individuals. In the end, the town lost all the disputed lands, and probably more, because they did not answer an appellate court decision and forfeited any claim to disputed land.

ANTHONY sold *Turk's Plantation* to NICHOLAS STILLWELL for 1,600 guilders (roughly \$920.00 in 2012) plus NICHOLAS' Gravesend property, lot 29 of the 1646 division though he is not listed as the owner. We know of four separate tracts of land owned by ANTHONY by 1660: *Turk's Plantation*, *Old Bouwery*, *Twelve Morgen* and the Neck between the last two. It may be that all 4 tracts were sold to STILLWELL as records dated after this sale concerning the 3 tracts from the 1643 patent indicate that ANTHONY is the former owner. STILLWELL had lot 7 in the 1645 division but is not found in the 1646 one. STILLWELL owned more than one lot and identifying which one was number 29 is difficult. STILLWELL'S lots were on the south side of town and bordered Coney Island; an option to buy a lot was sold to RICHARD DUNN for 300 guilders and STILLWELL purchased DUNN'S option; that lot was deeded to STILLWELL in 1648. Another lot that was owned by JOHN THOMAS was sold to STILLWELL. ANTHONY'S deed selling the plantation and taking ownership of Gravesend lot 29 was signed on 1 April 1660 but not recorded until 9 February 1661 (most writers have thus far failed to convert *o.s.* 1660 to 1661). STILLWELL paid ANTHONY 800 guilders on 28 December.

ANTHONY, prior to the second payment due date of 28 December 1661, came to believe that he had been conned by STILLWELL who had placed a much higher value on lot 29 in Gravesend than its actual worth and significantly undervalued the plantation. ANTHONY believed the true value of *Turk's Plantation* to be at least 3,200 guilders. STILLWELL went to ANTHONY'S on 27 December 1661 and, after actually showing ANTHONY the money, demanded that ANTHONY settle a discrepancy that had arisen over the exact boundaries of the plantation. ANTHONY refused to cooperate and STILLWELL, true to his word, refused to turn over the final 800 guilders the following day. ANTHONY had previously claimed to own "a certain hook of land" but, at a later date, appears to have changed his story, possibly hoping to regain some of the losses he felt were STILLWELL'S doing. This hook was probably Yellow Hook as it is mentioned as being one extreme of his plantation – the hook being his "usual landing place" – with the other extreme being the seashore at Coney Island, which is a clear description that his land went from Coney Island to Yellow Hook. The "usual landing place" probably meant the place that ANTHONY docked his boat and Yellow Hook, being the closest part of *Turk's Plantation* to New Amsterdam, makes sense. With his history of sailing his own vessels it seems unlikely that ANTHONY would resort to using the ferry that commenced operation in 1637 between the *Gracht* in New Amsterdam and the foot of *Joralemon-straet* in Breuckelen. ANTHONY petitioned the Council on 9 February 1662 to release him from the 1660 real estate transaction with STILLWELL, based on the perceived financial losses according to some writers while others maintain it was because of the withheld second, payment. STILLWELL mounted a defense (found in the Register of SOLOMON LACHAIRE, City Clerk's Office of New York, pages 228-231) which included THOMAS MORRELL'S testimony that ANTHONY had told him that all the

hook of land from the “usual landing place” to the seashore at Coney Island was part of the plantation. Further in LACHAIRE’S record we find that GERRIT SEGGER had previously leased land from ANTHONY that included the disputed hook. On 10 February 1662 STILLWELL submitted the following to Stuyvesant and the Council:

HONORABLE:

The above named Declarant says that said ANTHONY JANSEN came to his house about one month before the last payment, being Eight hundred guilders, fell due and asked what the Declarant will give for pay; if corn he would go to the Manathans and agree with the Brewers:

Whereupon Declarant answered, You can well save the trouble of agreeing with any of the brewers, for, I said, your money is ready--and thereupon showed him about six hundred guilders in Wampum, saying, the balance being two hundred guilders, I shall immediately point out to you where to receive it, on condition that you give and deliver to me what you have sold to me according to the bill of sale thereof signed by you.

STUYVESANT refused to render an opinion and their differences must have been settled amicably, possibly spurred on by a Mohawk attack on Kennebec which demonstrated the security offered by living in a town enclosed by a palisade. No further action is found regarding this dispute and STILLWELL signed a warranty deed to lot 29 in Gravesend on 28 April 1662 which was witnessed by ANTHONY’S son-in-law WILLEM JANSEN VAN BORCULO. On 24 May 1663 ANTHONY obtained confirmation from the Council that this land was clear of any indebtedness to the DWIC.

But all was not about money for ANTHONY; he was also concerned about the more spiritual side of life. Ten Gravesend residents, including ANTHONY JANSEN, his son-in-law JAN EMANS and LIEUTENANT NICOLAS STILLWELL, petitioned the DIRECTOR-GENERAL and Council for a preacher on 12 April 1660, which was approved that same day but apparently, never enacted. Some writers such as ROBERTS claim that ANTHONY converted to Christianity later in life and submit this petition as the sole evidence of their shaky assertion. Unlike his father, ANTHONY was born and raised a Muslim; conversion would not be a lightly taken step.

On 7 April 1661, ANTHONY JANSEN VAN “FAES” and three sons-in-law: WILLEM JANSEN VAN BORCULO, JAN EMANS of Cologne and FERNANDUS JANSEN VAN SICKELLEN petitioned the Council for the island west of Coney Island called Gysbert’s Island. This “island” bordered *Turk’s Plantation* and was separated from the west end of Coney Island by a small creek; it had been left vacant by the former owner GYSBERT OP DYCK but was appropriated by the inhabitants of Gravesande for pasturing their livestock. A point of clarification is required here as the English translations mistakenly refer to ANTHONY’S sons-in-law as his brothers-in law; this is because the Dutch word *schoonzoons* which is found in the original Dutch manuscripts was used for both designations at that time. The Council, for reasons not stated, refused the request. In Appendix 4 is more detail on this piece of land. There is a possibility that it was actually a part of Coney Island that had become separated after a harsh winter widened an inlet or stream running there. OP DYCK denies abandonment and petitions the Council on 25 August for the right to sell the Island to Gravesend. The town had no need to buy that which they used for free. On 20 October 1661 OP DYCK sells the island to DICK DEWOLF who builds a salt production facility and bars use to Gravesande. They respond by burning down the business and threatening

DEWOLF's life. Despite pressure from the corporate home office – STUYVESANT refuses to rein-in his unruly, mob-like Brits.

He still owned livestock as he sold an ox to the “predecessor” of the woodcutter EVERT DIRCKZEN for twenty-eight guilders, ten stivers. In January 1663 ANTHONY had to sue DIRCKZEN to obtain payment. The Court of Burgomasters and Schepens was replaced with the Mayor's Court and its records belie a new career for the sixty-year-old ANTHONY after he moved into Gravensande, now Gravesend – he became a supplier of lumber. One can only speculate on his source of trees but a good candidate would be STILLWELL's fifty acre out lot. On 6 September 1655 JOHANNES VAN BEECK sued GRIETJE JANSEN for 51 florins for linen purchased “*a year and a day*” ago. GRIETJE acknowledged the debt but asked for time to allow her husband to return from the South River. The Court gave her 2 months to pay the debt. This is the second instance in which ROBERTS assumes this action concerned GRIETJE REYNIERS and then makes the leap to saying that ANTHONY had business concerns on the Delaware River. As in the first instance, it is unlikely that this suit involved our ancestor. Basing the existence of business concerns on the Delaware owned by ANTHONY is not supported in this record.³¹

ANTHONY JONSON of Gravesend one long Island in the west Redeing of yorke sheire sold, in poor English, Gravesend lot 29 to his son-in-law FERNANDUS VAN SICKLEN, *fardinando from sickelen*, on 6 September 1669. That this lot may have been in the southwest corner of town is supported by the location of the VAN SICKLEN family burial ground in that corner adjacent to the Old Gravesend Cemetery and the naming of what should be Village Road West as van Sicklen Street. The deed was recorded on 6 December 1669 and ANTHONY moved back into the *Brughstraet* house in the city soon thereafter.

The English takeover resulted in a new charter being issued by GOVERNOR RICHARD NICOLLS in 1668. His patent correctly eliminates all of Coney Island from the town. The town petitioned for a new charter when there was a change of governor. In 1671 GOVERNOR LOVELACE issued a patent that, if certain specifics are ignored, enlarged the town. The inhabitants decided the stipulation that all town land could only be taken from land that was not already claimed or patented. Another change of governor brought another patent in 1685. The most liberal, or illegal, of the 3, this patent from GOVERNOR DONGAN included all of Coney Island in the town. How this was issued when all of Coney Island had been owned and occupied for years is unknown but this patent was null and void in law if not in fact.

NIEUW UTRECHT

Utrecht, or the *Nieuw* town of *Utrecht*, was settled by a small number of Dutchmen shortly after the aborted attempt of Gravensande to secure English protection. The Dutch in the area believed their own protection was not secure at the hands of the mainly-English magistrates of Gravensande so they set about to establish their own town. JACOB VAN CORLEAR was the driving force that obtained a patent on the 27th of August in 1657 for 130 morgens (260 acres)

on the east hook of the bay of the North River opposite Coney Island bounded on the West by Anthony Jansen van Salee, N.E. by the kil that serves Gravesend's mill, E.S.E. and S. by same kil, and S.W. by the same bay.

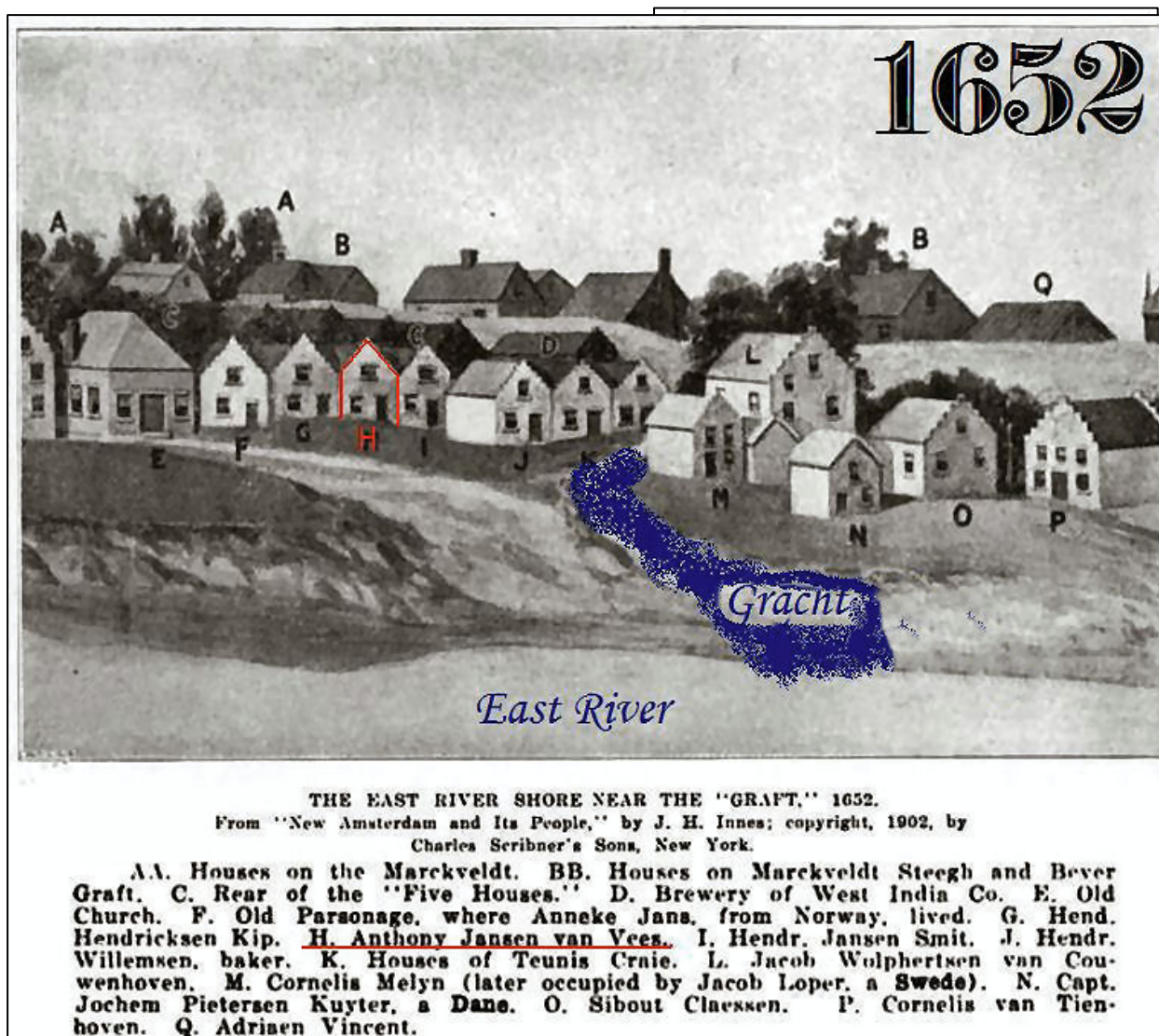
The “*east hook of the bay of the North River opposite Coney Island*” sounds confusing as the bay of the North River is not opposite Coney Island but if *opposite* is used to mean *to*, then it reads the same as the extent of *Turk's Plantation* – from Yellow Hook to Coney Island. JACOB VAN CORLEAR is probably the same person as the JACOBUS VAN CURLER who was involved in

the slander proceedings of 1638 and 1639. The patent is sufficiently vague to cause disputes, which it did by the 13th of August in the following year which finds ANTHONY petitioning the Council to amend the New Utrecht patent because the meadow granted under it was part of his plantation and had been bought from the Canarsie tribe on 26 September 1651. At this time the *Fiscal* of New Netherland was NICASIUS DE SILLE who was also one of the original patentees of New Utrecht and one of STUYVESANT'S Council members. Perhaps realizing the uphill battle to secure the whole of the meadow, ANTHONY'S petition asked for only that part of the meadow that was near his farm. The *Fiscal* argued that ANTHONY did not have the required permission to conduct such negotiations with tribe and the town was within its rights to impound all of ANTHONY'S hogs and his twenty-four head of cattle in the meadow. The Council's decision left it to the town to determine if their patent as described deprived ANTHONY of all his useable meadowland; if so they were to give him some. In early 1659 the inhabitants, through JACQUES CORTELLIAU, submitted a petition with 7 points to be addressed to the Director-General and Council; the 4th point asked to warn ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALE to drive his horses, hogs and cattle from the common meadow into the woods, the same as everyone else, or the animals will be subject to being impounded. The 5th point requested confirmation for their peaceable use of the meadows which ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALE claimed to have purchased but, lacking permission, was barred from doing so. As ANTHONY has lived in the area for years, he can enjoy his lots and portion as any other with use of the meadow but he also liable for his share of the costs to maintain said meadow. PETRUS STUYVESANT and the Council, represented by NICASIUS DE SILLE, PETRUS TONNEMAN and JOHAN DE DECKER, answered in a reply dated 12 May 1659: as to the 4th and 5th points: the Fiscal was ordered to notify ANTHONY to keep his cattle and hogs out of the common meadows and to present any claim he may have to the meadow to the Director-General and Council; further the Fiscal was empowered to impound all cattle and hogs found on the meadow. The 7th point asked for, and got, a 10-year exemption of the payment of the tenth for everyone except HEER WERCKHOVEN. The public land of New Utrecht was divided into 24 lots with 2 lots going to LORD WERCKHOVEN, 2 lots going to ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALE and 1 lot to each of the 20 original patentees or their successors. The lots were distributed in the same month of the answer to the petition, May 1659.³² One record gives the distribution based on shares: two shares to each original patentee, or their heirs and one share to each proprietor. This does not correlate with the distribution by lots: if 2 shares equals 1 lot then each proprietor received a ½ lot which does not appear in records. In the distribution by lot ANTHONY received two lots, Nos. 23 and 24. This may have represented the settlement of the dispute over the meadow as no more court actions appear in the records. There are no land records that mention these lots 23 and 24 leading to the possible conclusion that these were included in *Turk's Plantation* that was transferred to NICHOLAS STILLWELL in 1660. Finding ANTHONY in the records of New Utrecht is much harder; perhaps they were easier to get along with. The town lay north of *Turk's Plantation* and wrapped around its eastern edge to butt up against Gravensande in the southeast and now represented in large measure by the Borough Park section of Brooklyn. The line separating ANTHONY'S New Utrecht and Gravesend properties (lot 29?) "*strikes the bay at the old church in the extreme northwest part of the present Unionville*" now near Bensonhurst Park. ANTHONY had land on both sides of this line and "*his house stood near to the line and close to the sea*" now northwest of Bay Parkway near 86th. His house is said to have been west of the town border, placing it in New Utrecht; perhaps this is the location of lots 23 & 24. The lack of documents reflecting a New Utrecht residence may be merely a reflection of a less litigious existence.

In 1879, while leveling sand dunes that had blown up on the bay southeast of the Locust Grove section of Bath on the north shore of Gravesend Bay, two sections of walls were discovered under several feet of sand. The one foot thick walls were made from unbroken field-stones that were held together by a clay mortar, the ruins rising to a height of two feet. The room had a clay floor and was probably one of the farm's many outbuildings, quite possibly a threshing room. Threshing is the tossing of grain into the air to help separate the wheat from the chaff. [What happened is not stated] These buildings were about half a mile from the presumed location of their home at Bay Parkway & 86th. The names given to his tracts lasted for at least 2 centuries: in 1884 the tracks of the Brooklyn, Bath and Coney Island Railroad ran alongside *Twelve Morgen*.

1669 - 1676: NEW YORK, NEW YORK...

The *Brugh-straet* house did not sit empty since its purchase in 1643, it was occupied by different tenants over the years: In 1654 ANTHONY sued PIETRE CASPERSEN VAN NAERDEN for back rent, probably for the *Brugh-straet* property. CLAES TYSEN, a cooper, signed a lease on 26

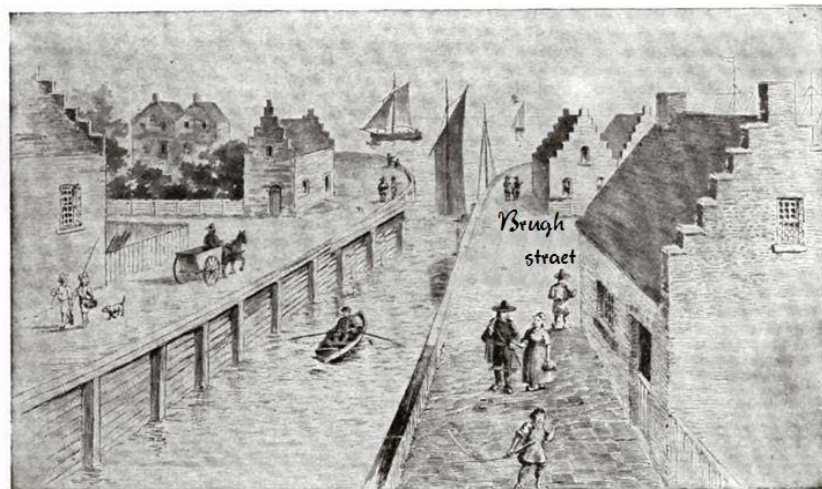


May 1655 for the front part of the house and half of the loft and lot at an annual rent of 140 Carolus guilders³³; EGBERT MYNDERSON leased it on 30 March 1663 and in this document is found ANTHONY'S "AI" mark. EGBERT was the appointed "farmer of the slaughter excise" and could be found at the *Land-poorte*, the gate where Broadway now crosses Wall Street. Each slaughtered animal cost 1 stiver and he was the official who collected, or farmed, that tax. Anyone caught slaughtering without a stamp from EGBERT could have their animal confiscated and pay a fine. Another renter was THOMAS COCX who ANTHONY sued in April 1666 for back rent; as in other suits, the location of the rental property isn't specified, but it was probably the same house.

Besides trouble with urban renters, he also had trouble with urban neighbors. HENDRICK JANSEN SMIT (not to be confused with HENDRIC JANSEN, the tailor, who was a neighbor on *Lang Strant* and who called ANTHONY "*a rascal*") a neighbor since 1644, encroached on ANTHONY'S property and initiated a lawsuit in October 1660 to obtain title to the appropriated property. Unsuccessful, SMIT had to release the property, pay court costs and pay damages to ANTHONY.³⁴ ANTHONY lived to see many greater changes: the small public dock at *Beurs-straet* (Whitehall) consumed by the sweeping arm of the western half of the Great Dock, the creation of Broad Street on top of the filled-in *Gracht* which was continued out into the river as the eastern half of the Great Dock, the beginnings of the development of the North (Hudson) River side dockyards and the filling-in of the streets and lanes of the growing city with homes and businesses. Gone were the open expanses of the small plantations, the marsh and the livestock pastures.

The *Brugh-straet* house, a block from the river, became a Bridge Street home lying two blocks from the river's edge and the bridge itself became the site of the first merchant's exchange. The street may have adopted the name of its counterpart-across-the-*Gracht* for a short period – *Hoogh-straet* or High Street. He witnessed the earliest extension of the island as the Great Dock was filled in. Water Street would become the new riverfront

street within their children's lifetime. Their children would watch as history repeated itself and a new Great Dock jutting farther out into the river was built, then filled in and Front Street replaced Water Street as the next river side thoroughfare on the expanding island by the middle of the next century. The population of New Amsterdam went from two hundred seventy in 1628 to a thousand by 1642. KIEFT'S Indian Wars dropped this number to eight hundred by 1653 but it soon rebounded with eighteen hundred residents by 1660 and twenty-four hundred just four years later. The three hundred fifty houses, including fifty vacant ones, present in 1660 grew to



Herren-Gracht, 1642

(Originally "Broad Street, 1642" from *Historic New York*; corrected by author)

five hundred by 1664, though one-fifth stood empty. The high vacancy rate probably reflected the dilapidated condition of many structures rather than a lack of demand as the resident:house ratio remained relatively steady, hovering around five people/house in both 1660 and 1664. The colony as a whole expanded rapidly, from fifteen hundred in 1647 to two thousand in 1653 which mushroomed to ten thousand by 1664! STUYVESANT vacated his mansion south of the Fort at *Beurs-straet* (Whitehall) and *Langs Strant* (now Water Street), retiring to his plantation inland from Corlear's Hook near Tenth Street, east of Third Avenue, where he spent the rest of his days holding court as an elder statesman. New Netherland was replaced with New York and New Amsterdam was replaced with, well ... New York.

By the end of 1669 GRIETJE had died, most likely in Gravesend. She was probably buried in the VAN SICKLEN Family Burial Ground or the adjacent Old Gravesend Cemetery at the intersection of Village Road South and van Sicklen Street (Village Road West). The former is more likely as their daughter EVA married into the VAN SICKLEN family in 1661.

ANTHONY's plan to remarry can be surmised from the Court records which show that on 23 December 1669 the three surviving daughters of "ANTHONY JANSEN, commonly called Turk," and the minor children of CORNELIA, who had died in 1666, petitioned GOVERNOR NICOLLS for relief, claiming they were likely to be deprived of their rightful ownership of their mother's estate. Only a remarriage could place such ownership in jeopardy, especially ANTHONY's as he and his intended signed a pre-nuptial agreement which gave the surviving spouse free use of all property for the remainder of their lives. All concerned parties were ordered to present themselves before the GOVERNOR on 6 January 1670 to have the petition answered. It seems from the lack of further mention that an agreement was reached between father and daughters however many records created at this time were destroyed in an accidental fire years later.

ANTHONY married secondly METJE MACHTELD (born ~ 1630 in Netherlands) shortly after returning to Manhattan. She had first married ANDRIES GREVENRAET who died at least a decade earlier. She is found in records as METJE GREVENRAET. She was a widow living on Markveldt Street during the 1660s. While there she was assessed one florin to pay for lodging the soldiers.³⁵ She is found boarding children whose parents have died: 22 February 1664 she took in the minor children of the deceased CLEIN or COLEYN CLASSIE and his widow JANNETJE TOMAS who died on 9 February 1661, probably at the request of the children's guardians THOMAS HALL and PIETER STOUTENBURGH. On 10 May 1664 she boarded the son of the deceased CLAAS MARTEN for 250 guilders per annum.³⁶

The Dutch-to-English change in government may have been pivotal in reversing ANTHONY banishment, or perhaps it was the thirty years of good living in Brooklyn that did the trick but, either way, ANTHONY sold the Gravesend plantation-lot to his son-in-law FERNANDUS VAN SICKLEN in December 1669 and returned to the *Brugh-straet* house in New Amsterdam, or rather, the Bridge Street house in New York. All the muddy, rutted lanes were gone, replaced with paved streets by 1672; the festering *Herren-gracht* was cleaned and Anglicized becoming Broad Canal. Four years later, the town became less Dutch when it was realized the canals had outlived their purpose; they were filled in and paved over, *Beever-gracht* became Beaver Street and the Broad Canal, the former *Gracht*, became Broad Street. Between the paving of the streets and of the canals there was a brief reversion to Dutch rule and for several months, August 1673 to February 1674 officially (later in practice as word of the treaty that gave the place back to the English didn't reach the colony for several months) ANTHONY once again lived on *Brugh-straet*, in New ... not York ... not Amsterdam ... but in *New Orange*.

In October 1672 ANTHONY received a patent for land in Elizabeth Towne, New Jersey as payment of a debt owed by JOHN WILSON, known as GREAT JOHN. WILSON wrote his Last Will on the 10th of that month and left all his land *as appearing in the records at Elizabeth Towne* to ANTHONY.³⁷ WILSON was one of Elizabeth Towne's original Associates, receiving a first-lot right in 1666.³⁸ ANTHONY also received all of WILSON's tools and all other belongings whether in ANTHONY's Bridge Street house or elsewhere. The unmarried WILSON died two days later in New York City. On the 15th ANTHONY obtained ownership of all bequests as the principal legatee and apparently was granted Letters of Administration despite WILSON's Last Will naming HENRY NORRIS as executor.³⁹ A debt of 40 shillings to the same HENRY NORRIS had to be paid from the estate. Shortly afterwards the English lost the colony to the Dutch but there appears little in the way of land transactions for the period of Dutch rule over *Achter Kol*. The actual land may not have been surveyed or patented; ANTHONY may have sold the grant to HENRY NORRIS. Land grants and surveyed tracts were not subject to quit-rents but patented tracks were. With the resumption of English rule in 1674 came a resumption of the desire to collect taxes coupled with a nullification of patents issued during the previous period of English rule. A *Warrant for Survey* was issued to *HENRY NORRIS, self and JOHN WILSON, carpenter* on 14 March 1676 for 210 acres.⁴⁰

ANTHONY ran an inn and tavern from Bridge Street and was also involved in trading and lending money as Court records indicate. Running an inn had some pitfalls: an affidavit dated 16 April 1674 states that one SAMUEL FORMAN of Oyster Bay came to town and lodged at the house of ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE; FORMAN was banished two days later for disturbing, or planning to disturb, the church services and the *Schout* filed a complaint against Anthony, the outcome of which is not known (but often confused with the next troublesome guest at the inn).⁴¹ On the night of 28-29 April EDWAERT BAMBRI, an English Quaker from Martenaer's Neck, was brought to the inn by the daughter of MARGARET PHILIPS. This being the time of the Anglo-Dutch War, all English were banned from the city unless the *Schout* gave permission; violators were subject to a fine of 600 florins. The prohibition was posted on placards around the city. METJE stated that the PHILIPS girl told her that the *Schout* had already been notified. After MARGARET PHILIPS and her daughter denied making such statements, ANTHONY filed his own lawsuit against them for damages which was rolled into the first case. ANTHONY was found guilty and fined one beaver skin, instead of the 600 florins stated on the placard, by the Court and twelve florins was added after the *Schout* complained on 19 June 1674.⁴²

A much uglier episode occurred in January 1674 – a Dutch soldier shot and killed one of the local natives, claiming he was drunk and dangerous. The Sheriff, or rather once-again, *Schout*, charged ANTHONY on the 17th of January with serving four *mutsjens* of alcohol to the unfortunate guy. The record states that “the defendant's wife,” meaning METJE, testified that nothing of the sort happened and the *Schout* lost.

ANTHONY is shown as the Dutch (as opposed to English) owner of the Bridge Street property in a March 1674 valuation completed for the occupying Dutch authorities. This list placed each property in one of four classes based on the estimated value and ANTHONY'S was considered a second-class property in the same class as the former DIRECTOR-GENERAL; his estimated personal wealth was placed at \$3,000.00 in this list. He appears as 1 of only 134 property owners on a list dated February 1675 for the returning English authorities.

ANTHONY died in early 1676 as Letters of Administration, with a mention of an anti-nuptial contract, were granted to his widow on 25 March 1676 [corrections are authors]:

Administration granted to METTI GREVENRAET, of her husband's Estate. EDMUND ANDROS Esqr., Governor: Whereas ANTHONY JANSEN of this City died Intestate and METTI GREVENRAET, his Widow & Relict having in order to her taking out Letters of Administration Exhibited an Inventory of her said husband's estate into ye Mayors Court of this City, & likewise produced a Contract made between her said husband, & her before Marriage, that ye longest liver of them should remain in the full possession of the whole Estate during the Survivor's life, the proof whereof was allowed of by the Court & Recommended to me for Letters of Administration: These presents may Certify and declare that the said METTI is admitted & confirmed to all intents and purposes, Administratrix of her said husband's Estate, & She hath hereby full Power & Authority to act in ye premises, as Administrator by ye Laws of this Government are to do, She giving Security to perform the Contract, accordingly. Given under my Seale ye March 25th 1676.⁴³

He was probably buried in the original Dutch Burying Ground. That cemetery was located between Morris Street to the north and Battery Place to the south, West Street and the Hudson River to the west and, to date, only located west of Broadway without that street, Greenwich Street or Washington Street being designated as the eastern boundary (See Excursion 7 of 1912 in “NYC Excursions 1897-1912.pdf” file). None of those burials were permanent and all have been dispersed to other cemeteries but no record mentioning ANTHONY has surfaced.

The husband's of ANTHONY's four daughters filed a petition with the Surrogate's Court in September 1676 to compel METJE to file an inventory of the estate:

To the Worshipful ye Mayor and Aldermen: The humble Petition of THOMAS SOUTHWARD, WILLEM JOHNSON, JOHN EMANS and FERNANDUS VAN STICKLAND who Intermarried with ANNICA, CORNELIA, SARA and EVA – Daughters & heirs unto ANTHONY JOHNSON late of this City who dyed intestate about Six months Since – Showeth--That METIE GRAVEROD Widow unto ye intestate hath not brought into this Court a true Inventory of his Estate--Therefore Prays yet the said METIE GRAVEROD may be Compelled by this Worshipful Court to there to produce an Inventory according to Law & yet your Petitioners may have their Equal shares & Portions of the said Intestate's Estate. And they shall pray &c.⁴⁴

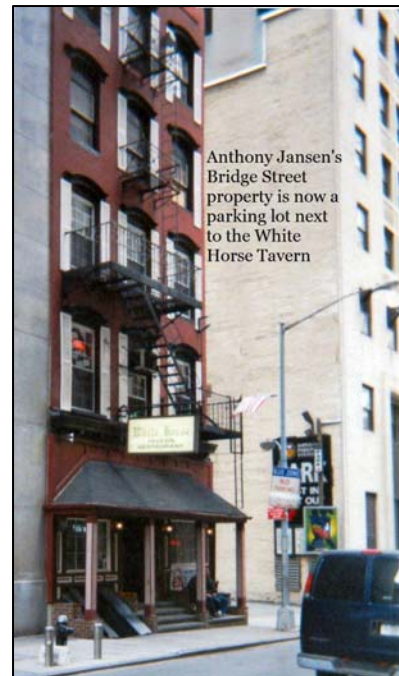
An inventory was eventually filed but not recorded. It has not been found in the Surrogate Court records that were transferred to Albany. ANTHONY JANS TURKE was taxed 18 shillings, 9 pence (18 s, 9 d) for the Bridge Street property on 10 November 1676.⁴⁵ The estate was still open on 24 July 1677 when it was taxed 8 shillings for an unidentified property somewhere on Whitehall Street (formerly *Beurs-straet*) on the eastern edge of the Market Field or between Whitehall and Winkle Streets just east of the Market Field. METJE's separate property at the intersection of Market Field Lane (*Het Marcktveld-steegie*, now Battery Place) and Broadway was taxed 4 shillings.

Some have stated that Gravesend asserted jurisdiction *over his estate* through the assessment of property taxes. As he sold the last of his Gravesend property in 1669, such a statement is not consistent with the known facts. Perhaps the reference is to taxes due on property previously owned by ANTHONY; it was a common practice to make such references in documents of this period.

NICHOLAS STILLWELL sold *Turk's Plantation* in 1664 to FRANCOIS DE BRUYNNE (FRANCIS BROWNE) which he called *Bruynnsberg* (the name didn't stick). Actually it appears the sale included all 4 tracts owned by ANTHONY by 1660. Half a year later DE BRUYNNE sold the *north half* of *Turk's Plantation* to JAN JANSE VER RYNE and it is in this document that we find the first landmarks that are semi-identifiable: this part of the plantation was *on main road between New Utrecht and Gravesend* and on *Old Bath Road*. Unfortunately roads are not static in course or in name. The main road may be 18th Avenue now; Old Bath Road has not been identified yet. The description of *north half* seems to be wrong as this area is quite far south from Owl's Head Park in Bay Ridge. In 1669 DE BRUYNNE unsuccessfully sued Gravesend in the Court of Sessions for the West Riding (King's County) in yet another attempt to settle the property disputes concerning *Twelve Morgen*, *Old Bouwery* and the *Neck* that joined the two. This supports the earlier statement that Stillwell's purchase of *Turk's Plantation* actually included 4 tracts of land. DE BRUYNNE followed the adverse ruling with an appeal to the City Council of New York at Fort James, the outcome of which hasn't been researched. These nagging property disputes would eventually be solved in the 19th century to Gravesends detriment; they lost all contested lands, and probably forfeited some that was not contested when the town's counsel did not answer a filing in New York Appellate Court and that Court determined the town to be in default and to have forfeited all current and future claims of the town regarding property disputes.

METJE continued to live in the Bridge Street house for at least a decade but seems to only have had use of the property during her lifetime. She did not bequeath the property by will or convey it by any deed now of record. No records exist that indicate any of ANTHONY'S children ever owned or sold the property either. It could have gone to one of METJE'S children from her first marriage but this is only conjecture. The lack of records is, indeed, a puzzle. Its location however is not: the original lot can be seen today – it is a parking lot adjacent to the White Horse Tavern! Whatever other property ANTHONY owned is unclear as is its disposition.

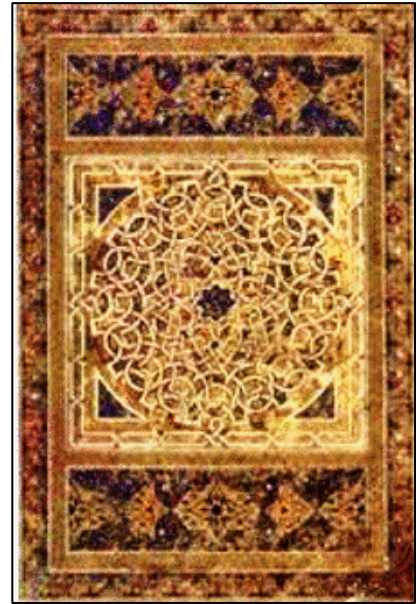
In 1686 "*METJE GREVENRAET, wed. van ANTHONY JANSZEN*" is found still living in the Bridge Street house when DOMINE HENRICUS SELYNS, the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church wrote a register of the church members. No death record for METJE has been found.



THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ANTHONY'S QU'RAN

ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE brought the first copy of the Qu'ran to this continent. What is known about that copy is:

- It was the first copy of the Qu'ran in America.
 - Coming from a Moroccan SULTAN it was 1 of 500 created between 1594 and 1599 for EMIR AL-MANSUR of Morocco; passed to son ZIDAN in 1603 who added a notation to his copy on Folio 264 which states that this copy was *executed in the Mosque of the Al-Badi Palace in Marrakech, and finished on the 13th day of the month of Rab'ia in the year 1008 after the Hegira during the reign of EMIR AL-MANSUR, father of MULEY ZAYDAN*. Finished on 2 November 1599, ZIDAN's copy was in his library that was stolen in 1611; now it is item number 1340 at the *Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo al El Escorial* north of Madrid. The cover of ZIDAN's Qu'ran is pictured at right, top; right, below is a copy of one of the pages. Facsimiles published in 1996 are currently selling for over \$4,000.00!! Assuming all copies were identical we know exactly what ANTHONY's looked like as ZIDAN's copy remains captive in El Escorial.
- ✦ 532 pages
 - ✦ Approximately 10.5" x 7.5" (27 x 19.5 cm)
 - ✦ Decorated in the *mabsut* style.
 - ✦ Titles of the *suras* are written in gold *Kufic* on a blue ground.
 - ✦ Folios 1v, 2r, 264v and 265v are *Illuminated* with Moorish motifs.
- The book is a work-of-art and copies were given to several crowned heads of Europe.
 - ANTHONY left Morocco just before ZIDAN died; therefore it could only have come from him *unless* "ANTHONY'S" copy was actually his father's and ANTHONY got it as a bequest after his father died sometime around 1650. After ZIDAN's death in September 1627 any remaining copies passed to his son SULTAN EL-WALID. "ANTHONY'S" Qu'ran could have been given to JAN JANSEN, possibly when he became governor of Oualida in 1635 and then passed to his eldest son upon his death. Was
 - After Anthony's death the Qu'ran was left to his daughter EVA JANSEN VAN SALEE & her husband FERNANDUS VAN SICKLEN. It was passed down until it came into the possession of CATHERINE GULICK (b.1800) in early 1800s. CATHERINE left it to her nephew JOACHIM RULE (b.1820). After his death it was sold at an estate sale in 1886 for \$100.00 to another descendant, RICHARD M. JOHNSON of Kingston, NJ (see CORNELIA'S descendants).



- JOHNSON, who doesn't know what the book is, takes it to a curio shop in Trenton owned by the Jew *JERUSALEM*. JOHNSON agrees to *JERUSALEM*'s terms of sale: \$25.00 up front and another \$25.00 when it sells. Soon thereafter the *JERUSALEM* died and what became of his business property is not known. JOHNSON never hears anything.
- Another descendant in the GULICK line, named ROBERT BAYLES, contacts JOHNSON some years later about the Qu'ran and writes a manuscript about it which is in the Manuscript Department of the New York Public Library.
- Last known contact about the Qu'ran was contained in a letter dated 21 February 1925 from JOHNSON to CHARLES ANTHONY HOPPIN of Greenfield, OH telling of the books trail to the curio shop in Trenton. Hoppin retells this to someone in a letter written in 1932.

The Qu'ran wasn't the only item of ANTHONY's that was passed down in the family. CATHERINE GULICK related that a "copper tea kettle and a small, brass pan with a peculiar and unusual pattern" were also in the GULICK family in her lifetime. While the whereabouts of the copper tea kettle are unknown, it appears that the "small, brass pan with a peculiar and unusual pattern" was in the possession of CHARLES ANTHONY HOPPIN of Greenfield, OH in 1932. ANTHONY came to own a Crescent Medal that was given to his father; that medal stayed in the family for a number of generations before being allegedly donated to a Manhattan-based historical society. For years it was thought to be the Holland Society of New York but a search conducted by a board member of that institution has put that notion to rest. Similar institutions such as the New York Historical Society or even the public library need to be searched as well.

ANTHONY and GRIETJE had four daughters. Only their grandchildren are named unless the descendants, at some point, owned items belonging to ANTHONY.

ISSUE⁴⁶

- 1) **ANNICA ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE**: born about 1632 in New Amsterdam, New Netherlands. She married **THOMAS SOUTHARD** on 29 December 1650 in Gravesend, New Netherlands. In one of the several strange ironies encountered in this ancestral sojourn, our Moroccan blood and some of our English blood comes to us through ancestors born in neither country but through a wholly Dutch couple – THOMAS SOUTHARD, born in Leiden, Holland to English parents and his wife ANNICA JANSEN, born in New Netherlands to a Dutch/German mother and Dutch/Berber father. *To be continued...*
- 2) **SARAH ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE**: born about 1635 in New Amsterdam, New Netherlands. She was married about 1660 to JOHN EMANS, SENIOR, son of ANDREAS EMANS. He was born 1639 in Netherlands. John is found in various Gravesend records: receives 1 lot of plow land on Hugh Garretsens Neck and Gysberts Island on 5 January 1670; his lot, in numerical order, lying eastward in the neck is 16 out of 39 on 1 March 1689; he is referenced as lot 21 in a record dated 12 December 1697.⁴⁷ JOHN died 1715 in Gravesend, Kings County, New York. SARAH also died in 1715. 8 known children:
 - a) ANTHONY EMANS
 - b) CORNELIA EMANS: married PAULUS AMERAN; 1 known child.
 - c) HENDRICK EMANS
 - d) JACOBUS EMANS
 - e) JOHN EMANS

- f) ABRAHAM EMANS
 - g) SARAH EMANS: born about 1676; married JOSEPH MORGAN 14 October 1696; 7 children
 - h) ANDREAS EMANS: born about 1677 in New Utrecht, Kings County, New York. He married REBECCA VAN CLEEF on 24 November 1693 in Kings County, New York. She was born about 1672 in Gravesend, Kings County, New York, and died 15 November 1755 in New Jersey. 2 known children.
- 3) CORNELIA ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE: born about 1638 in New Amsterdam, New Netherlands; married 2 March 1658 to WILLEM JANS LUBBERDINK VAN BORCULO (1621 – 1683) in Dutch Reformed Church, Flatbush, Kings County, New York. They had 4 children as listed. CORNELIA died in 1665/66. WILLEM married (2) LYSEBET JANS, widow of CHRISTOFFEL JANS, 9 more children not listed.
- a) JANNETJE BARKELO: born circa 1660; married (1) JAN BARENTSE VAN DRIEST, 18 May 1679; 5 children; only one named here. JANNETJE married (2) ELIAS HUBBARD, 15 December 1699, 1 child.
 - i) BARENT JANSEN: (he used JANSEN as his surname as well as JOHNSON but not BARENTSE VAN DRIEST) married MARIA STILLWELL (The RICHARD JOHNSON who bought the Qu'ran from JOACHIM RULE before 1886 may have been a descendant of this couple since most took the surname JOHNSON)
 - (1) NICHOLAS JANSEN/JOHNSON: married ANTJE WYKOFF
 - (a) WILLIMENTJE JOHNSON: born 1736; married PETER GULICK JUNIOR (born 1732) a descendant of ANTHONY through his daughter EVA
 - b) CORNELIA BARKELO: born circa 1662; married (1) JOHN DISHINGTON, 15 April 1684, 4 children. Married (2) ANDREW LAW, 20 April 1695, 1 child.
 - c) JAN HARMENSE BARKELO
 - d) WILLEM BARKELO: married MARIA CORTELYOU.
- 4) EVA ANTONISE JANSEN VAN SALEE: born 1641 in New Amsterdam, New Netherlands. EVA was baptized 3 November 1647 in the Dutch Reformed Church, New Amsterdam. She married FERNANDUS VAN SICKLEN on 6 June 1661. He bought Lot 29 in Gravesend from ANTHONY in 1669. EVA died 1710 and was buried in Flatbush, NY. Children are:
- a) MARGIETJE VAN SICKLEN: baptized 1663 in Dutch Reformed Church, Flatlands, Kings County, New York. Married CAPTAIN JAN ALBERTSE TERHUNE on 6 June 1691, Dutch Reformed Church, Flatbush, Kings County, NY. MARGIETJE died in 1705. 2 children.
 - b) (*unnamed daughter*) VAN SICKLEN: She married JAN WILLEMSE BENNET.
 - c) SUSANNA VAN SICKLEN: Baptized 1 May 1681 at Dutch Reformed Church in Flatbush, Kings County, New York.
 - d) REINIER VAN SICKLEN: born about 1661, Flatlands, Kings County, New York. He married JANNETJE VAN HOORN on 26 March 1687 in Flatlands, Kings County, New York. It would seem he owned property in Gravesend, perhaps he inherited lot 29: he is, in order, 37 of 39 lots lying east of the town on 1 March 1689; and shown with lots 7 of 31 and 23 of 38 (or 4 lots: 7, 31, 23 & 38?) on 12 December 1697.⁴⁸ REINIER died before 1707 and JANNETJE died in 1719 in Flatlands, Kings County, New York. 1 Child.
 - e) EVA VAN SICKLEN: born about 1665. She married JAN BERDAN, JUNIOR on 20 May 1693 in Dutch Reformed Church, Flatbush, Kings County, New York. EVA died before 6 November 1733. 11 Children.

- f) JOHANNES VAN SICKLEN: born about 1669, Flatlands, Kings County, New York; married *JANNETJE* in 1694.
- g) JANNETJE VAN SICKLEN: born 1670; married ADRIAEN LANE. JANNETJE died January 1761.
- h) FERDINANDUS VAN SICKLEN: born about 1675, Flatlands, Kings County, New York; married GERTRUY MINNE JOHANNES about 1696. At least 2 children:
 - i) RENSJE VAN SICKLEN: married JOHANNES GULICK
 - (1) JOACHIM GULICK: married REBECCA EMANS, probably a descendant of ANTHONY through his daughter SARAH.
 - (a) REBECCA GULICK: married PETER JOHNSON RULE (born 1796)
 - (i) JOACHIM RULE: born 1820; had ANTHONY'S Qu'ran in 1880s.
 - ii) EVA VAN SICKLEN: married PETER GULICK SENIOR (brother of JOHANNES GULICK)
 - (1) PETER GULICK JUNIOR: born 1732; married WILLIMENTJE JOHNSON (born 1736) who was also a descendant of ANTHONY through his daughter CORNELIA.
 - i) CORNELIA VAN SICKLEN: born 1678, New Amersfoort, Kings County, New York. She married JAN CORNELISE BANTA (born about 1684) on 3 April 1708 in Dutch Reformed Church, Hackensack, Bergen County, New Jersey. 2 children.

Descendants use a wide variety of surnames; from ANTHONY'S name alone we find two surnames: VAN SALEE and JANSEN. Accordingly, descendants with each surname publish family information under the surname they use; this author found a significant amount of information published under the surname VAN SALEE that is not found in the JANSEN sources. With each successive generation the number of possible surnames increases, e.g. WILLEM JANS LUBBERDINK VAN BORCULO, husband of CORNELIA, is not a LUBBERDINK but a VAN BORCULO and a misspelled one at that, VAN BARKELO, also found in a short form: BARKELO. Their grandchild BARENT, son of JAN BARENTSE VAN DRIEST, never used BARENTSE or VAN DRIEST; he skipped the VAN BORCULO/ BARKELO generation all together and opted to use JANSEN and the English equivalent of JOHNSON as surnames, despite being two generations removed from a JANSEN relative. So, while his children are JANSEN, none of their grandparents are!

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- ³ Nicholaes van Wassenauer, Historisch Verhael Aller Ghederck Waerdigher Gheschiedenissen die hier en daer in Europa, als Duytslant, Vranckenrijck, Enghelant, Spaenjen, Hungarijen, Polen, Sevenberghen, Sweeden, Walachien, Moldavien, Turckijen, Switserlant, Barbarijen, en Nederlant, Voorgevallensyn, 23 volumes; (1715) Copy at New York City Public Library.
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- ¹¹ Hazel van Dyke Roberts, "Anthony Jansen van Salee 1607 – 1676" *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (January 1972). Pages 16 – 28. She references "RNA I:171" without identifying that item, possibly Records of New Amsterdam?
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- ¹⁴ The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini, Volume I Minutes of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens 1653 - 1655, (ed. Berthold Fernow; NY: Knickerbocker Press; 1897) pages 204, 224.
- ¹⁵ Leo Hershkowitz, "The Troublesome Turk: An Illustration of the Judicial Process in New Amsterdam," *New York History*, Volume 46 (October 1965) 4:299 – 310. His numerous errors are all the more egregious as he purports that his article is looking at the judicial process and not the persons written about, yet he can not even provide an accurate copy of court testimony!
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- ²¹ Van Laer, Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624 – 1626, Volume 2 (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery Press, San Marino, CA; 1924) p. 248 [copy at *Henry E. Huntington Library* in San Marino, CA]
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- ²⁸ Ralph K. Potter, Early Southard’s of New York and New Jersey, (published by author, 1974) page 8.
- ²⁹ Powers of Attorney, Acknowledgements, Indentures of Apprentices, Inventories, Etc. (translation by Dr. E.B. O’Callaghan) Yearbook of the Holland Society of New York (1900) p.171.
- ³⁰ Raymond Lounsberg, Pennoyer Brothers. (Univ of Michigan; 1971) page 54.
- ³¹ The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini, Volume I Minutes of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens 1653 - 1655, (ed. Berthold Fernow; NY: Knickerbocker Press; 1897) page 353. [and] *Op. cit.* Roberts, NYG & B.
- ³² Documentary History of New York Volume I; XII: Papers relating to Long Island (ed: EB O’Callaghan; Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co; 1849) pages 635 – 640.
- ³³ *Ibid.* p.178-9
- ³⁴ The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini, Volume III Minutes of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens, (ed. Berthold Fernow; NY: Knickerbocker Press; 1897) pages 249, 289, 321 and 338.
- ³⁵ New York Historical Society Collections, New Series, volume I, page 895.
- ³⁶ Orphans Court of New Amsterdam, Volume II Minutes in Yearbook of the Holland Society of New York (1900) pages 120, 124 and 126.

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- ³⁷ New York Historical Society, Collections 1892, Abstracts of Wills, Volume 1 1665 – 1707. (NY: New York Historical Society; 1893) Liber 1-2, page 25.
- ³⁸ Edwin F. Hatfield, D.D. History of Elizabeth, NJ; (Carlton & Lanahan, NY; 1868) page 58.
- ³⁹ Surrogate Court of New York City, Liber 1-2 Records, pages 98-99.
- ⁴⁰ *op.cit.* Hatfield, History of Elizabeth, NJ; pages 173, 182.
- ⁴¹ Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Secretary of State at Albany, NY Volume XXIII, Part 2, page 331.
- ⁴² Court of the Burgomasters and Schepens of New Orange, Volume VII Minutes, pages 82, 84 and 85.
- ⁴³ Surrogate Court of New York City. Liber 1-2 Records, page 158.
- ⁴⁴ Mayor's Court Minutes November 1675 to November 1677 (Record Commission, County of New York) pages 80-82.
- ⁴⁵ Common Council of the City of New York, Volume I Minutes, page 29.
- ⁴⁶ Conover 9068 Crystal Vista Lane, West Jordan, Utah, 84088, ancestors@conovergenealogy.com, <http://www.conovergenealogy.com> (and) www.vandorland.nl
- ⁴⁷ Town Records of Kings County: Gravesend, Book 3. Town Meetings, 1656-1705. New York Municipal Archives Microfilm Roll No. 61, Item 3002, Gravesend Lott Divisions, 1697, p. 5; Gravesend Plow Land Division List—1670, p.25; Gravesend Lotts in the Necks, 1688/89, p. 54. Transcribed by Renee L. Dauven, June 2012 ([notmyfamily/pbworks.com](http://notmyfamily.pbworks.com))
- ⁴⁸ *Supra*: Town Records of Kings County; Gravesend Lott Divisions, 1697, p. 5; Gravesend Lotts in the Necks, 1688/89, p. 54.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: ELIZABETH AND JOHN – a love story or a *load of #@*?*

Turning to the often-repeated-but-never-substantiated story that JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM conducted negotiations on behalf of AL-MANSUR, EMIR OF MOROCCO with ELIZABETH I, QUEEN OF ENGLAND. English writers are reported to give his name as CAPTAIN JOHN.

I use ELIZABETH AND JOHN as a litmus test. This story is used to assess each website encountered that posts information about our ancestor.

Is it on the site?	Yes? (Strike 1)
If so, does the site explicitly or implicitly accept the story as fact?	Yes? (Strike 2)
If so, does the site offer anything at all to support it?	No? (You're outta here!)

Conclusion: the website is not about our ancestor at all but merely a collection of data on some fictitious person that the person posting the information wants readers to believe is real and that the poster is smart. Unfortunately for the poster, smart people know that the opposite is true, on both counts.

Let's look at the facts:

ELIZABETH I and representatives of the EMIR OF MOROCCO really did hold treaty negotiations right up until her death in 1603. The Anglo-Moroccan negotiations were “high-level” enough to involve the monarch of one of the strongest nations in Western Europe and were carefully noted in records of the time. The Moroccan team consisted of 3 men, each with Arabic sounding names. None contain *re'is* or *rais*, the Moroccan equivalent of *Captain*, or JAN, the Dutch equivalent of JOHN, or any of the names that our ancestor is known to have, or even believed to have, used.

JAN JANSEN was about 33 years old in 1603. He had grown up in Holland, probably spent a couple years in Algiers and had been living in Cartagena for the past year or two with a new wife an infant son. He spoke Dutch, a little Arabic and probably some Spanish but, to my knowledge, no English. He had no political or diplomatic experience but he did have good sailing skills and knew that having two wives was no problem for him, he was Muslim. He had never been to Morocco or ever met the EMIR AL-MANSUR or had any dealings with that country before 1603.

The truth of the matter is this: the facts go far in proving what has, until now, been given as fact: CAPTAIN JOHN is not JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM.

Others will argue his name as CAPTAIN JOHN appears in other records. Those records are written in Dutch and translated by an English speaker. I have to see the original records before I can offer any comment but, until then, who knows what they say? That is the only way anyone can know what was written; anything less is little-better than writing fiction.

APPENDIX 2: Negotiating with the Ottoman Empire, an oxymoron?

Why is this section even included? Because of the whole “kidnapped on the high seas” question. Since we have no contemporary documents that state “Jan Jansen van Haarlem was sold by me, Captain Bloody Eye, to you, Mr. Ahpu, for 16 drachmas. 24 October 1618. Signed, sealed and delivered” and it is highly improbable that we ever will anything remotely close. We must turn to what *is* available. Before trying to say *when* he was captured and sold, it is important to know *if* that was even a possibility, or, more accurately put, *if* and *when* it was a possibility. To do this we have to know what treaties, declarations or other agreements were in effect that would stop this, *this* being the sale of Dutch captives, in Algiers between 1595 and 1625. Sounds simple; it isn’t, as you will find out if you keep reading.

International diplomacy was in the early stages of becoming expected, consistent and enforceable during the 15th to 17th centuries. The routines had yet to be developed. Heretofore trade agreements were subject to the whims of the signatories and were usually of limited duration and limited effect and rarely ever had more than two parties; many were nothing more than the ruler of a port city allowing a merchant ship to dock. However, within this chaotic mess of negotiations certain consistencies are found; they became routine. Now these routines are called doctrines and they cover international agreements; at first they were written but later they became the unwritten part, the “handshake” that implied a tacit approval of the parties, of agreements or grants. Thus was born, for instance, the Doctrine of Navigation. In this country such doctrines are codified as Acts, in the example given, the Navigation Act while at the international level they are enshrined in Article 87(1) of the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III) to which the United States refuses to agree as an international prize court is one of the clauses.

The end-result was the creation of a document that either granted certain rights from one party to another or documented the rights and responsibilities of each of the signing parties to all other signing parties that resulted from negotiations. The first category includes such documents as the Grants and Concessions of the Lords Proprietor to the Patentees of East Jersey, the Monmouth Patent and the Declaration of Independence. In these, one party – Berkeley & Carteret, Governor Richard Nicholls and the Continental Congress respectively in the examples – grant, concede, transfer or declare certain property and rights as well as listing the duties and responsibilities of the recipient to not only the issuing party but to others as well. Note that, while well known, each of these examples were unilateral, issued by one person or party and, in the first two examples, did not cross national borders, they were national. The third example was a unilateral declaration of the people of one area of the planet to every one else on the planet, a statement of fact if you will that required no second party, only required all second parties to realize that the one making the statement existed. Such unilateral declarations, while common within borders, were much less frequently encountered when borders were crossed.

As conglomerations of multiple nations accrued to one person with several crowns so did this type of unilateral declaration. An Imperial Decree declared thus-n-so to be true. At times these had both a national and international flavor: when the King of Aragon first climbed the throne of Sicily – two different separate and distinct nations – he, as King of Aragon, owned the other and issued decrees to his Sicilian subjects, the owned. Later, in part due to the subservient nature of Sicilian submission to Aragonese domination, Sicily became a part of Aragon which had the effect of changing the decrees from being international to national, a King to his subjects. While this may have seemed like a good solution to the master-slave relationship problem to the master,

to the Sicilians, the slaves, it was less than an ideal solution – they never said they wanted to be Aragonese! (But this wasn't new, they didn't get it – when the Sicilians asked the Aragonese for help getting rid of the French they weren't saying we'd rather be Aragonese than French, they were saying we want to be Sicilians!)

Entering the stage of international diplomacy, the Ottoman Empire presented a new and unique set of circumstances. In this instance the territorial ruler, the Sultan, was also the spiritual leader, the Caliph. As Caliph of Islam he had a duty to make Islam the world's one religion; as Sultan he had a duty to insure the safety and security of his subjects and, hopefully, increase their prosperity. Doing both at the same time was a proposition that was daunting in the best of times. This was not the only instance of this dual role combination: the Pope was still a spiritual leader as head of the Roman Catholic Church and a temporal leader as King of the Papal States and would continue as such until the middle of the 19th century; the difference with the Sultan-Caliph was the level of international diplomacy involved, after all, the Papal States were tiny, weak and, technically, poor (the Church was wealthy, not the States), besides the King showed no desire to rule the world (as King; as Pope he had every desire to rule the world). To Islamic eyes this dual nature was not possible; the Caliph could never be seen as anything less than the supreme leader of the world by his subjects whether he was acting as Caliph or as Sultan. Conducting negotiations as Sultan, the ruler of land, with non-Islamic peoples is contrary to the tenets of Islam and therefore, a Sultan who did so could not be the Caliph.

Knowing that (1) negotiations were required and (2) what the public doesn't know won't hurt them (or him) a novel approach was found. Known, collectively, as the Turkish Capitulations, they are worded in a way so as to appear, at least to the Sultan's subjects, to be a unilateral declaration of the beneficence of the Sultan to a recipient, usually a nation or the merchants of a nation. The recipient party, not wanting to appear in any way subservient, would present the document as the Turkish-[name of nation] Treaty. In this way the public image of both parties remained intact. Where required (Europe), it was presented as a treaty resulting from intense negotiations in which we got the Sultan to do thus-n-so. Where required (Ottoman and other Islamic lands), it was presented as another example of the beneficence of the Sultan to lesser people (Christians) of the world. This bit of subterfuge was greatly helped by the fact that the documents were always written in Arabic, then translated, usually into French, by people specifically designated to do this job by the Sultan in Constantinople. As very few people had even a rudimentary working of Arabic, the Sultan was secure in the knowledge that no one would detect the differences found in the Arabic and French versions; if differences were detected, and some were, that could be chalked up to translation problems, syntax errors and the like. Turns out that it was a stupendously successful plan – it is only now, centuries later, that research with the actual documents is revealing the very different character of each version. The Arabic version is usually quite strident in its declarations and possesses a very demeaning character while the French version is much more conciliatory in nature. So effective, in fact, that even today, European writers usually call a document the “Treaty of” and not the “Capitulations to”

Just last year (2012) the Netherlands held a Quadricentennial Celebration of Dutch-Turkish relations that began with the “1612 Treaty of Peace, Commerce and Navigation” between the Sublime Porte at Constantinople and the Estates-General of the Netherlands at the Hague. This document is remarkable in many ways, detailed later, as it steered the course of international diplomacy that are followed to this day. However it is not a treaty and saying it is for 400 years

has not changed that. Not being a treaty has no negative impact on its import; it remains an important historical document and that can not change by using its correct name: the “Dutch Capitulations of 1612” (inherent in the word Capitulations is Ottoman or Turkish as that was the only power that issued them as such and to include Ottoman or Turkish creates a redundancy and is, therefore, grammatically incorrect). This misnaming is usually accompanied by the justification that, as negotiations did occur, the requirements to be called a treaty have been met. All well and good if that was the sole requirement of treaties, but, alas, it is not. Yes, negotiations took place, negotiations behind closed doors, but negotiations none-the-less. Did it give the Dutch the right to cancel it? No. Could they extend it? No. To be a treaty both parties have a say not only in its creation, the negotiation, but also in its execution and its termination. A “treaty” that reserves the execution and duration of the terms to one party is not a treaty at all by definition. (Just because you can sit on a table doesn’t mean it’s a chair).

Capitulations were unique to Constantinople. While called a treaty by those with a vested interest in not being told what to do, they were in fact a unilateral declaration by the SULTAN that offered certain benefits to a specific party. Just who the recipient of those benefits was is not clear – a nation or the merchants of a nation? Many sources only name the nation involved but a few sites offering more detail imply that the Capitulations may have been more limited, such as to the Dutch East India Company. Naming the Capitulations by the issuer is pointless as all Capitulations were issued by the SULTAN; naming them by the recipient is both logical and grammatically correct. They did not have true signatories, *per se*, since this was not a treaty but a declaration. Of course to give it the color of a treaty, the recipient government would often go through a very public discussion, approval and signing process, as if that would have some effect on it. The effect was on those watching which was to save face in what could otherwise be a humiliating situation. While being issued unilaterally, it was expected that their terms, at least the applicable ones, would be bilateral – which means that even if a specific group of merchants was named, the nation was affected and, because of this, the Capitulations were seen as a treaty and under the purview of the government who often issued a pointless but formal approval or signified their approval in some other manner. The SULTAN retained sole authority to revoke all or part of any Capitulation without cause. They couldn’t care less if a government approved or not – the SULTAN’S ports? The SULTAN’S choices. They expired upon his death but allowances were made for their continuation until the next SULTAN issued new ones. In practice the new SULTAN would often issue a blanket renewal of all Capitulations, especially as the number and contents increased.

Background

DOCTRINES: create the environment by which international trade is regulated. These include prize law, freedom of navigation, freedom of the high seas and consolalo.

CONSOLALO: Movement of goods up to the 17th century was done under the accepted doctrine of *Consolalo* or *Visit and Search* which stated that during times of war:

1. Belligerents’ ships are subject to being stopped, searched, captured or otherwise detained by any nation participant in the war.
2. Seamen on enemy’s merchant ships could be held captive and ransomed or otherwise put to the good use of the captor.

3. Sailors on enemy's naval ships could be captured and impressed *i.e.* forced to work on the ships of the captor for the duration of the war.
4. Allies of the enemy are a legitimate target as an enemy without the need for a state-of-war to have been formally declared; the ships of a nation allied with the enemy can be treated in the same manner as those of the declared enemy.
5. Ship's flying the flag of a neutral country could be stopped, by force if necessary, and searched; any goods belonging to a combatant nation as well as citizens of enemy nations were subject to confiscation.

LICENSE FOR PRIVATEERING AND LETTERS OF MARQUE AND REPRISAL

Commonly called Letters of Marque, they are one of two different types of government-issued commissions that allowed for the capture ships. The second was a privateering license; the two were blurred, by writers now as well as by governments then. Vessels captured under either one were subject to the Admiralty of the jurisdiction that issued the commission.

PRIVATEERING LICENSES: issued by a nation at war by or on behalf of the head-of-state. The license allowed for the stopping, searching and seizure of any enemy vessel or any vessel suspected of carrying contraband, *i.e.* cargo destined for the enemy, which then became a prize. Said prize fell under the jurisdiction of the Admiralty and, assuming that the prize was determined to be legitimate after following the procedure outlined below, the proceeds from the sale of the cargo and vessel were split between sovereign and captain by a prearranged agreement, often 50-50. A Privateering License, as originally designed, was issued to a particular ship for a particular length of time or voyage.

LETTERS OF MARQUE AND REPRISAL: required an applicant to submit a statement of damages caused by a foreign entity, person, business or government, for which they were seeking redress. Letters could be issued against individuals or nations, or for that matter, any entity allowing for the taking of property in any manner up to the amount of damages claimed. Once the licensee had possession of the property it was turned over to the Admiralty for processing through their Prize Court as detailed below. In France the Lettres-du-Marque were also issued as Lettres-du-Course which was the basis for the word corsair. A Letter was issued to a particular person and did not usually have a specified ending point.

In lieu of physically towing a ship or providing a prize crew to sail it back to the Admiralty, which may involve hundreds of miles or more and/or contravene orders if the prize was captured by a Navy vessel on assignment, a system of ransom developed. Captains of captor and captive negotiate a price and the captive captain issues an I.O.U. in that amount to the captor captain. This I.O.U. was treated as legal and negotiable money. This is an instance of how the sea could turn everything upside down; if this exact same negotiation took place involving a land-based cargo transport vehicle it constitutes extortion.

PRIZE LAW: was the accepted method by which nations agreed to process prizes in their jurisdiction. While there were similarities of operations of all nations the specifics of each varied from nation to nation as well as from time to time. What one nation would accept or reject as evidence or proof was commonly more a function of who would gain the most rather than what was true. A prize was defined as the ship and its cargo that a captain of another ship who had a properly issued Letter-of-Marque had commandeered on the high seas (being beyond the

accepted limit of 3 miles). If such a prize existed and, on route to the Admiralty, the prize itself was captured by yet a third captain, it was no longer considered a prize by the Admiralty of the first privateer but had reverted to being the property of the original owner. How the captured ship was handled after that depended on the status of the third captain – if he was a conational of the ships captain or an ally of the ships nation it usually just reverted to the owner, subject to a recovery fee.

Prize law allowed for either the ransoming of a prize at sea or an *in rem* proceeding at the Prize Court operating under governmental authority. The captain of a ship holding a Letter-of-Marque turned over a prize and its cargo intact to the Admiralty and initiated a claim against the ship, an *in rem* proceeding. The proceeding was a libel alleging that the captain had good cause to believe that the prize was an enemy ship or a neutral ship carrying contraband. Here is second time where the sea turns everything upside down: the basis of this proceeding is the presumption of guilt – the prize is enemy unless proven otherwise. The Admiralty ordered an investigation and an immediate inventory to be taken. If perishable goods were on board they were sold and the proceeds deposited on account with the Admiralty. The investigation was thorough and detailed. If international laws were violated, the captain stood a good chance of forfeiting not only the prize but also his Letter-of-Marque and, quite possibly, his license to sail. Such laws required that, if any shots were fired by the privateer, he had to flying the correct flag *before* the first shot. The prize's crew and captain testified about everything – their nation of origin and their destination; their cargo and passengers; treatment at the hands of the privateer and his crew; the specifics, such as location and duration, of any confrontation; whether or not there were any other vessels involved and so on. Some were usually taken to identify their cargo and report if anything was missing or looked disturbed; if there was something amiss it was a violation of international law. Similar questioning of the privateer and his crew followed. If there was any other ship assisting the privateer they were entitled to a share in the proceeds if the Court found in favor of the privateer.

After the investigations were over and the value of the ship and cargo established the Prize Court issued a ruling – if they determined that it was a prize legally taken under international law the ship was condemned to the privateer captain. They issued a document that stated their court has condemned this ship to the new owner under accepted international laws to prevent the former owner from extralegal attempts to reclaim his ship as such attempts were considered to be an act of piracy and penalized as such – including hanging. Former owner's could, and often did, appeal the decision in the Prize Court. They could also initiate proceedings in the Prize Court of their own country and hope for a favorable judgment which the government could use as leverage or the prize court use against another nation's prize court decisions.

FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION *versus* **FREEDOM OF THE HIGH SEAS**: two doctrines that determined how merchant ships were to be treated when they were under sail. If they were beyond the 3-mile limit, then international law applied: the doctrine of Freedom of the High Seas. If they were within the territorial waters of their own nation they were not subject to international law and, in theory at least, could not be stopped: the doctrine of Freedom of Navigation. Where a ship was determined whether or not they were subject to the *Consolalo* or "Visit and Search" – being stopped by a ship flying a flag of a different nation, boarded and inspected. They could be in international but not territorial waters.

ADMIRALTY

Affairs of government that involved matters of navigation were usually handled through one office created for that function, in England this was the Admiralty. While the jurisdiction of each nation's Admiralty was similar in nature, the specifics varied. In England, the Admiralty issued privateering licenses under the name Letters-of-Marque but rarely, if ever, issued a true Letter-of-Marque. The Admiralty also had its own court, the Admiralty Court that handled legal matters subject to their jurisdiction which included all rivers and any crime within the 3-mile territorial waters limit. Within this court was the Prize Court which heard all proceedings pertaining to the prizes captured by those in possession of a Letter-of-Marque issued by them as detailed above. In the Netherlands, each of the seven provinces had their own Admiralty with its own Prize Court but no national Admiralty. When national action was required, the States-General at The Hague would determine what was needed from each provincial Admiralty.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

OTTOMAN EMPIRE: France alone had enjoyed a preeminent position with the Ottoman Empire for decades. The French Capitulations of 1536 gave that country a monopoly over all Christian traders wanting to dock in any Ottoman port and jurisdiction over Christian traders. The monopoly required that the ship fly the flag of France and all business could only be conducted under the watchful eyes of the French ambassador and consuls – for a fee. The special status accorded to Egypt's port of Alexandria is beyond the scope of this work.

A second category for nations was created specifically for those nations wanting to conduct trade under the French flag but with additional financial benefits such as reduced port fees; in fact many preferred to do it this way as it was cheaper than creating the offices required in foreign ports. Each nation in this second category had a Treaty of Peace and Friendship which was closer to being a true treaty because it did require negotiations and acceptance of certain points while also granting the right to open an Embassy in Constantinople and Consulate offices in the various port cities if desired. However, as all trade was still dependant upon the French Capitulations of 1536, which, in turn were subject to the Sultan's desires, there was no loss in the dignity of the Sultan-Caliph. The French consular fees brought enormous wealth with which the French bought even more power by investing in business ventures in the Empire.

A hierarchy has nations with Capitulations (France) on top, nations with a Treaty of Peace and Friendship next and non-treaty nations which could still trade under a covering French flag without whatever benefits they could have under a Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

England, as can be imagined, did not relish the idea of being required to sail under the flag of her historical enemy France and, from 1580, aggressively pursued a separate trade agreement with the Empire. The fact that this ticked off England's current enemy Spain, who was also the primary Ottoman enemy, certainly brought a smirk to her face and a snarl to Felipe's! Their aggressiveness alarmed the French who obtained confirmation of their monopoly in the French Capitulations of 1581. Not deterred one bit, the English focused on their goals, shrugged off the French whining, and obtained from SULTAN MURAD III the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1583. The Treaty rocked the French because, unlike previous such treaties, this one allowed the English entry into the Empire's ports under their own flag! By now the French must have been becoming aware of the difference between a treaty and these Capitulations – the latter is

unilateral and subject to the issuer's whims while the former would not be. Success only whetted the English appetites which were sated in the English Capitulations of 1593 which removed any difference existing between the status of France and England since 1583. Further, the English took a long look at the second part of the monopoly – the jurisdiction over all Christian traders in the Empire – an area the French never really excelled at or expressed an interest in.

This conflict grew in importance as both countries wanted the privilege (money) of covering Dutch ships with their flag.

In 1609 the Empire was one of the first, if not the first, to recognize the Netherlands as separate nation. Their dealings with the Dutch go back over 40 years before that event. In October 1566 negotiations were started by WILLIAM OF ORANGE, the *stadtholder* who had been removed from office and fled to Germany with the new SULTAN, SELIM II (1524 – 1574), for a military alliance against the Spanish Empire. CHARLES IX, KING OF FRANCE (1550 – 1574) became a third partner in discussions which resulted in a written pledge of financial and military support from the SULTAN in 1574. Contact with corsairs from Algiers and Moriscos in the Spanish Empire was facilitated by the SULTAN'S agents to further Dutch and French advances. In 1574 the Ottoman Navy finished the *Reconquista* of Northern Africa that had started under SULEIMAN THE MAGNIFICENT (1494 – 1566). In the previous 40 years Tunis had bounced between the Ottoman and Spanish Empires at least 4 times before this final change. This required the attention of the Spanish military which reduced their ability to engage Dutch insurgents. After SULEIMAN'S death in 1566 the title of SULTAN went to his son SELIM II but power went to his Grand Vizier SOKOLLU MEHMED PASHA (1506 – 1579) who probably conducted the negotiations and approved the language of the 1612 “treaty” or, more accurately Capitulations.

To take advantage of the terms offered, goods must enter the ports in ships flying the English flag. It isn't clear if all other nations were barred from their ports or if other nations could enter but without the advantages given to English ships such as protection, lower port fees, etc. (The origin of the Most Favored Nation doctrine).

UNITED PROVINCES: As already related the relations between the Dutch and the Ottoman Empire date back to 1566. These earliest forays were more oriented to military goals, not trade agreements. Humanistic goals seem almost inherent to being Dutch now that we can look back over time. Equality of the sexes was a matter addressed over 4 centuries ago – women were equals – there was no changing of last names upon marrying, no loss of home or business when one spouse died and they weren't barred from initiating legal actions, including divorce. In matters of equality, there are no rivals. Accordingly the doctrine of *Consolalo* was anathema to the Dutch; it was a violation of the basic human right to travel unmolested. To a nation where shipping accounted for a large part of the national income, this was not mere philosophical hot air; it was a matter of their main livelihood. The Dutch had introduced the concepts that lay the foundation for the doctrine of *Freedom of the High Seas* in the mid-16th century; these were developed fully in Grotius' seminal 1604 treatise on the subject. They were keen on more than just saying it; they wanted to end the *Consolalo*. Another sore point was the subjugation to the English or French in the matter of what flag was flying on their ships. In 1598 the Dutch obtained permission from the Sultan to free and unhindered trade under the French flag, a covering flag as it was called. When the French Ambassador announced the imposition of a new fee of 2% on all goods the Dutch did not appeal to the Sultan, they placed themselves under the English flag. Probably because this had no impact on the money raked in by the Ottoman

government nor did it in any challenge the supremacy of the Sublime Porte, there was no official action taken. The Dutch kept pushing and got the beginnings of what would come to be called the *Freedom of Navigation* doctrine in their first real success. The first time this new doctrine was enshrined in a document affecting two nations was this 1612 “treaty” issued by SULTAN AHMED I – probably. Some sources reference the 1609 French Capitulations in conjunction with the later Dutch one as the starting point but are not clear if the French Capitulations contain the language that would put an end to *Consolalo* or not. Either way, the 1612 Dutch document does contain a significant difference from the 1609 French one regarding piracy and captives which will be discussed. After being courted by both France and England since 1593 they secured this world-changing document which is detailed below.

FRANCE: In 1258 CHARLES D’ANJOU from France became CARLO I D’ANGIO, KING OF SICILY. About a century later the title had to be changed to KING OF NAPLES as the expansionist Aragonese had taken the island of Sicily. Not content, the Aragonese KING OF SICILY (AND ARAGON) deposed RENATO D’ANGIO, KING OF NAPLES in 1442. The French, anxious to not lose the kingdom made two legitimate claims on the title – one familial the other royal. The first French claimant to act was the KING OF FRANCE based on the premise that the title was attached to the KING OF FRANCE and not any one person.

In 1494 that was CHARLES VIII VALOIS and he decided to press his claim. First he obtained a diplomatic agreement of non-intervention from FELIPE II, KING OF ARAGON (after all, the seated king was FERRANTE I TRASTÁMARA D’ARAGONA) for the French-Catalan towns of Rousillon and Cerdanya. Second, he obtained a military agreement of intervention from BAYEZID II, SULTAN OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. Conveniently, not only did FERRANTE I die but so did his son and successor ALFONSO II. CHARLES VIII invaded in September 1494 which pushed ALFONSO II into abdicating in favor of his son FERRANTE II D’ARAGONA. The Turkish Navy arrived, Naples fell and CHARLES was crowned CARLOS VALOIS, KING OF NAPLES in February 1495. He would have been designated IV had his reign lasted but he was shown the door in July. Sometimes the most innocuous of things have major ramifications. FERRANTE II was reinstalled but died in less than a year. He was followed by UNCLE FRED, FEDERICO IV TRASTÁMARA until 1501 when the insistent VALOIS returned in the person of LOUIS XII VALOIS-ORLÉANS who climbed the throne as LUIGI I.

The TRASTÁMARA D’ARAGONA had enough of this non-intervention stuff and returned, deposing LUIGI in 1504 and installing FERDINAND II TRASTÁMARA, KING OF ARAGON AND SICILY as FERDINANDO III, KING OF NAPLES.

So, what has all this to do with the Dutch and Turks you ask? The fact that the combined Ottoman and French forces had easily defeated the Spaniards at Naples was used to tempt the SULTAN into action. That wasn’t the only time either, the same pairing wrested Nice from Spanish rule in 1543 and Corsica in 1553. This time, rather than conquering territory for someone else, the target would complete the *Reconquista* of North Africa.

Back in France, the familial claim of RENÉ D’ANJOU, as RENATO D’ANGIO, KING OF NAPLES passed to his eldest daughter into the HOUSE OF LORRAINE and into a cadet branch, the HOUSE OF GUISE. The French, led by FRANCIS, DUKE OF GUISE attacked Naples in 1559 but were repulsed. The Valois-Habsburg Wars, intermittent battles since 1494, were draining on both sides. They were ended in 1559 by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. The main parties to the Treaty were, naturally, the Kings of Spain and France. But, as the Treaty hoped to solve the causes of the

conflict, any claim to the Kingdom of Naples had to be extinguished as well. The HOUSE OF LORRAINE was represented by RENÉ III VALOIS-ANJOU who agreed to give up his claim but only if and when FELIPE II returned Roussillon and Cerdanya to French control. FELIPE lived up to his increasingly bad image by reneging on his agreement until he could no longer justify the costs of keeping the towns.

NETHERLANDS CAPITULATIONS OF 1612

According to the Dutch: 1612 Treaty of Peace, Commerce and Navigation

According to others: Turkish Capitulations of 1612

Correctly identified as: United Provinces Capitulations of 1612

Each successive Capitulation grew more complex and this one had over 50 sections.

- ✦ The main Capitulation was that Dutch merchants were exempt from earlier agreements that limited the *guarantee of safe conduct and passage* to conduct trade to merchants whose goods were carried on ships flying the French or English flags only.
- ✦ All provinces of the Ottoman Empire were bound, in theory, by the terms of the Capitulation. The reality was that the provinces of the Barbary States ignored the Capitulations as they desired. The decline of the Sultan's power was evident in his response: initially he claimed he was powerless against strong underlings which was not a satisfactory answer. His better answer was that the Capitulations were enforceable only where the Sultan could do so and it was the responsibility of the recipient to conduct negotiations with the individual provinces followed by the even more ludicrous position that his were personal Capitulations applicable Empire-wide but nations had to secure similar agreements at the provincial level too. A provincial agreement alone was not enough to guarantee anything – you had to have both. And its corollary: the Sultan's Capitulations alone were useless without provincial ones.
- ✦ The merchants were guaranteed safety while in port cities which was sometimes altered to limit that safety to a specific part or quarter of the city.
- ✦ The novel Freedom of Navigation doctrine grew out of a section of the 1612 Capitulation. This section stated that the goods of nations at war that are being transported on ships from a neutral country are inviolate, i.e. not subject to stopping, searching and seizure; this was a direct assault on *Consolato* and was met with opposition by both France and England. Partly because this was not a treaty negotiation, the Sultan issued the Capitulation with the language requested by the Dutch. This new doctrine did not apply in cases where contraband was onboard; those ships were always subject to search and seizure but this change did create problems. In the past the accepted doctrine basically allowed any ship to be stopped and inspected while this new one allowed for the stopping of only those with contraband onboard – how do you do this? The stopped ship could send a couple designated people to the overtaking ship with documentation that has been previously accepted as an acceptable method; the overtaking ship can send officers over in a rowboat and inspect such documents, lowered to them by rope neither nation has stepped onto the property of another nation; in less contentious meetings either party could host the other as an “invited guest” thus circumventing the questions surrounding the legalities of the very act of stopping another nation's ship. What is the saying? Necessity is the mother of invention.

- ✦ Another section stated that “the possessor” of the rights was a friend of the Sultan and to be accorded appropriate regard and, further, they were “immune” from attack and capture by Muslim pirates. How the possessor could prove he held this status isn’t made clear – some sort of membership card? Rather than the weak position in Moroccan treaties of later periods which freed captives *upon landing* in a Moroccan port, this was, for its time, unheard of. It was based on earlier agreements with other nations that dealt with the mutual freeing of slaves who belonged to the other nation. (Law in the Middle East, 2010, pp. 317-322) Banning any and all piratical activity of any adherent of Islam – anywhere in the world – was a pretty radical concept, even if it proved unenforceable. How this immunity worked is not mentioned.

So we now have the answer to the original question posed: Yes, there was an agreement in place that would prevent the capture and/or enslavement of a Dutch citizen in the Ottoman Empire, at least until SULTAN AHMED I died. Well, *technically* yes; and, oddly, *technically* no; reality can be such a bugger sometimes!

The Sublime Porte issued *fermans* to the provinces at the request of the injured nation, requesting compliance with the Sultan’s Capitulations. These got the expected results ... nothing. But direct negotiation did produce results sometimes. In 1617 the new RA’IS of Algiers, SULEIMAN PAŞA, agreed to the United Provinces Capitulations of 1612, especially those sections concerning trade, navigation and the liberation of captives. Tellingly, the Sultan’s appointed *bashaw* of Algiers is noticeably absent. But, as history shows, even this didn’t produce results and open warfare was declared the following year, nullifying any past achievements. Only the resumption of war between the United Provinces and the Spanish Empire convinced Algiers that it would be better to be a friend of The Hague and enemy of Spain rather than an enemy of both. Perhaps as a sign of who held power or their location in the Western Mediterranean, the negotiated treaties “sounded” western. The treaty ending hostilities between Algiers and the States-General was dated 6 October 1622 and contained such provisions as the Visit and Search was to be conducted by Dutch crew members presenting their documents onboard the Algerine corsair; Algiers was allowed to purchase one warship and guns from Holland each year; overlooked was that the freeing of captives was not free – a negotiated ransom guaranteed the slave trade would continue. There were 4 different power centers in Algiers at the time: *bashaws*, *agha*, *diwan* and *RA’IS*. This treaty was presented in the public session of the diwan, at which time the agha and bashaw signed it. However the most powerful of the 4, the *RA’IS*, didn’t confirm it until February 1623 and the States-General would take even longer.

Complicating the process were the issuance of a couple *fermans* in Constantinople which demanded repeal of certain sections and thereby claimed superiority in any such negotiations. Another round of negotiations resulted in a more restrictive treaty such as Visit and Search would be on the Dutch ship, an anathema to the Dutch. The States-General rejected the terms.

Most Islamic states had the unusual tradition of the so-called presents which were *ordinary*, i.e. yearly or *consular*, i.e. every two years. And nowhere was this custom exploited more than in the Barbary States and Morocco. Gifts of cannon, saltpeter, livestock, guns weren’t appreciated, they were expected. Failing to satisfy the rulers needs and wants usually spelled disaster for any treaty and possibly death to a few of the offenders’ fellow countrymen held captive.

International diplomacy is never easy!

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APPENDIX 3:

THE DUTCH-ALGERIAN WAR OF 1618

As it may have been a consequence of this war that Jan Jansen van Haarlem was detained in Algiers in 1618, a closer investigation is warranted. Incursions against Dutch shipping were on the rise (or, at least, had never declined) at some point after the Netherlands Capitulations of 1612 was issued by the Sublime Porte. The desire not to enforce those Capitulations in the Barbary States (official provinces of the Ottoman Empire including the Eyalets of Tunis and Tripolitania and the Regency of Algiers) became evident soon after issuance. Constantinople claimed they could not enforce them for various reasons – the provinces were controlled by rebellious leaders, meaning the ra'is or captain of the port who succeeded the earlier military commanders who served the Sultan, and not the Sultan's own appointed pasha represented by the bashaw in Algiers; the Ottoman's military force was engaged elsewhere and not available for defense in the western Mediterranean – but this selective non-enforcement speaks to an active desire to not enforce agreements rather than the passive inability to do so as claimed. The Sultan didn't merely suggest that the States-General negotiate a treaty with the individual provinces for protection; he claimed the States-General were responsible for securing this protection. They, as a matter of course, protested this as being contrary to that section of his Capitulation that stated: all Dutch shipping was protected from molestation anywhere within his Empire. The Sultan countered with the statement protection did not extend to the Empire's provinces in North Africa without the required indication of just where this exemption originated. Truth was this Barbary piracy paid all administrative costs of the provinces and he was clearly not going to do anything to stop it.

Simultaneously to pursuing legitimate complaints in Constantinople, the States-General also pursued negotiating for treaties with each province, having varying degrees of success. Recognition of the 1612 Capitulations, which was relatively easy to obtain, did not equate with agreement to, or enforcement of, the provisions as the Dutch soon found out. The States-General warned of the possibility of official military action ensuing if the Empire did nothing, as required under accepted international law. The Empire did nothing and, accordingly, in 1616 the States-General authorized the assembling of a naval fleet with orders to protect Dutch shipping, goods and persons, whether on Dutch ships or on ships flying another nation's flag in the Mediterranean Sea. There may have actually been a 1615 fleet but, if so, it wasn't sailing under the 1616 authorization. Each Dutch province had its own admiralty and it was from these provincial admiralties that the orders to assemble a specific vessel originated. The fleet commander's orders were probably more specifically aimed at Algiers. Two fleets sailed with these orders.

1616 fleet: sailed in June under the command of “*MOOY*” or “*PRETTY-BOY*” LAMBERT HENDRIKSE (who was quite ugly, 1550 – 1625) under orders from the Admiralty of the Maze (Rotterdam). His flagship was the *Leeuinne* and had a complement of 100 sailors and 34 soldiers. He was also transporting the newly appointed Dutch consul to Algiers, DE KEYSER, to negotiate with the *bashaw* and *ra'is*. Two other ships have been identified in this fleet: the *Valck* with 90 sailors and 30 soldiers under CAPTAIN ELLERT THOMASZ from the Admiralty of Amsterdam and the *Neptunus*, with an unknown number of crew, captained by CORNELIS DANIELSZ from the Admiralty of Zeeland. The 1616 fleet stayed until April 1617.

1617 fleet: sailed September under command of HILLEBRANT QUEST. QUEST's flagship hasn't been identified. There are known to have been at least four ships in this fleet: QUEST's

unidentified flag ship, the *Holland* under JAN PELLICORAN another, possibly the *Vriesland* or the *Tonjin*, captained by CARLSEN ROSEGAERDT, and the 36-gun *Gouden Arent* captained by QUIRIJN BRACK. A 36-gun ship is known to have been armed in the following way: upper deck 2-6 pound bras cannon, 2-5 pound iron cannon and 8-3 pound *steenstukken* (swivel guns) and lower deck 2-24 and 4-18 pound brass cannon, 12-12 pound iron culverins and 8-3 pound swivel guns. The description does not name the ship described but it was probably the *Gouden Arent*. The 1617 fleet returned home in March 1618.

The States-General actions after the return of the second fleet in March 1618 indicates the first two fleets had little success in deterring the Algerine corsairs. Negotiations were opened with their former overlord and enemy Spain which resulted in a combined naval attack. This is a significant change as it indicates that, according to accepted international law at that time, a formal Declaration of War had been issued by someone – the Regency? The States-General? Spain? – unknown at this time. But this is important as it completely changes the game for JAN JANSSEN VAN HAARLEM. Technically he could be seen as a citizen of the United Provinces and not just any ordinary citizen either. He had sailed with the Regency's Admiral and was known to be an accomplished privateer – in-other-words he posed a possible threat to the Regency. This fact alone was grounds for detention under accepted rules of war – grounds that appear to have been used. That a true state-of-war existed is attested to by the existence of the 1622 treaty between the Regency and States-General formally ending hostilities.

1618 fleet: A combined Spanish-Dutch fleet sailed for Algiers in May. Command structure for the Dutch fleet is unclear; it seems to be Fleet-commander CORNELIS JANSZON GORCUM under Command of *PRETTY BOY* LAMBERT HENDRIKSE. The Dutch fleet had at least 5 ships: GORCUM's unidentified flagship and HENDRIKSE's ship; CAPTAIN ADRIAEN BRAS from the Admiralty of Noorderkwartier was a third unnamed ship, possibly the *StadHorn*; the *Vergulde Raven* under CAPTAIN BARENTZ SCHAEFF and the *Vriesland* under the returning CAPTAIN ROSEGAERDT. The Spanish naval contingent, under COMMANDER VIDAZABAL, has not been included here but it must have been significant. On 2 July 1618 the Dutch-Spanish fleet engaged the Algerine corsair fleet. While the location has not been yet identified, because of the numbers, a safe bet is that they sailed right into the harbor. The battle raged into the following day with a clear winner – the Dutch-Spanish fleet “defeated” 12 Algerine corsair ships. Defeated has several meanings – a ship could have been sunk, captured, damaged beyond repair or set aflame – no source encountered to date offers more detail. But losses of this size would seriously impact the economy of Algiers which was wholly dependent upon its fleet and probably spurred on peace negotiations, just not before a fourth fleet arrived. The fleet returned home in February 1619.

1619 fleet: sailed in May, again under the command of *PRETTY BOY* LAMBERT. Unlike previous fleets, this one seems to have had an extended deployment; it would be 18 months before they sailed home. This was either the largest squadron to sail or the fleet that we have the most information available – either way 13 ships have been identified. The Admiralty of the Maze (Rotterdam) sent the *Utrecht*, *Leeuw* and *Holland*; the Admiralty of Amsterdam sent the *Zeelandia* or *Zeelander* under the returning CAPTAIN PELLICOREN, the *Leiden* under CAPTAIN DIRK CLEYNORGEN, the *Zutphen*, and two unidentified ships, one under CAPTAIN JAN YSBRANTSZ and another under CAPTAIN CORNELIS MOENS; the Admiralty of Noorderkwartier sent the *Orangienboom* and the *Griffioen*; the Admiralty of Zeeland sent two ships, one captained by previous FLEET-COMMANDER GORCUM and the other by JAN DE COCK; lastly the

Admiralty of Friesland sent one ship captained by TUENIS HEES. The 1619 fleet returned home after an extended cruise lasting a year and a half in October 1620.

Considering that a truce was declared in 1621 at the earliest and a treaty not signed until the year after that, it is likely that there was at least one more Dutch squadron sent to the Barbary Coast, probably in spring 1621. However, from events known to have occurred elsewhere in the world, JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM was freed from detainment in Algiers by the time the fourth fleet returned home. JAN YSBRANTSZ, a Captain in the fourth fleet, is known to have been in command of the *Gekroonde Liefde* during 1621; perhaps he was one of the 1621 fleet.

With the resumption of war between the United Provinces and the Spanish Empire, both Algiers and The Hague had a vested interest – beat Spain! So, they buried the proverbial hatchet and on 16 October 1622 a treaty of peace was signed in Algiers; it would take another year before it was ratified in The Hague. In any event, it didn't last long, and even when it was in effect, it had little effect!

Carl Stapel is the source for much of the fleet composition information; his personal communications of 2005 were the basis for Jim Bender's 17th Century Naval Wargames website.

APPENDIX 4

TURK'S PLANTATION, TWELVE MORGEN AND OLD BOUWERY

The land owned by ANTHONY JANSEN on Long Island has been subject to much speculation over the years and even more incomplete investigation. In this section an exhaustive look at all the relevant documents is undertaken with an emphasis on the correct application of the terms as found in those documents as well as the people involved. The 200 acres granted in KIEFT's 1643 patent is as far as many historians have gone without considering the actual extent of 200 acres. The amount of land can not account for holdings on Coney Island and the Neck to *Twelve Morgen*, plus land lying west of Gravesend, adjacent to New Utrecht, encompassing Unionville and Guntherville and extending northward to Owl's Head Park in Bay Ridge – some 7 miles from Coney Island! Allowing a ¾ mile width from the coast and 6 miles as the distance from Owl's Head Park to Unionville, it contains approximately 2,880 acres!

The problems inherent in attempting to delineate property lines can be found in this 1679 description of Coney Island: low sandy island, oblong and grown over with bushes...on the sea side is a meadow or marsh intersected by several kills or creeks; runs east to west and takes 30-45 minutes to walk its length; used to let horses run as they can not get off island. It was separated from Pelican Beach by Plumb Inlet, long since filled in. Further east was Beeren (Barren) Island - 100 acres, 30 upland and the rest salt meadow covered with cord-grass, a slender hay-like plant - these Islands were separated from Long Island by creeks and marshes that were submerged at high tide - so they could be walked out onto at low tide. The coastline of Coney Island curved south at its eastern end and to get into Jamaica Bay thru Rockaway inlet you would sail right across where Rockaway Beach is today.

This land may be of more significance from an historical perspective than previously believed; some historians now maintain that HENRY HUDSON's landing of the *Halve Moon* in September 1609 did not take place at Sandy Hook, New Jersey but rather on this tract of land now in Brooklyn, citing HUDSON's own journals as evidence.

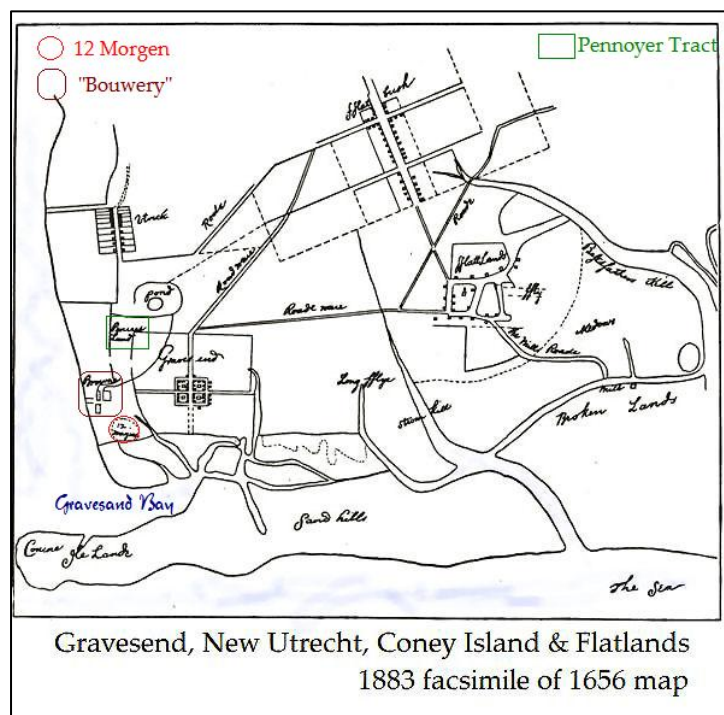
GRAVESEND: The Dutch patent for Gravensande became the township of Gravesend which was bounded on the east by Gerritse Creek and the west by its boundary with New Utrecht. Today there are 3 "tiers" of South Brooklyn neighborhoods: the inland, the "coastal" being on Sheepshead or Gravesend Bay, and the Coney Island communities. The inland neighborhoods are Ulmer Park, Madison, Homecrest (Brooklyn's 2nd Chinatown), part of southern Midwood and the southeast half of Bensonhurst. Starting at Gerritse Creek and heading west on the coast are Gerritsen Beach, Plum Island which became, thanks to landfill, Plum Beach, Sheepshead Bay, Gravesend and the southeast section of Bath Beach (Guntherville and east 1/2 of Unionville). The Coney Island communities, east-to-west, are Manhattan Beach, Brighton Beach, Coney Island proper (itself being the peninsular projections of Sheepshead Bay and Gravesend) and Seagate.



NEW UTRECHT: The patent for the new town of Utrecht became New Utrecht Township which bordered Gravesend Township in the east and, like a big slice of pie, took in much of southwest Brooklyn. Along the coast, first of Gravesend Bay, then the Narrows, then Lower New York Bay from east-to-west are the northwest part of Bath Beach, being the northwest half of the older Unionville; Dyker Heights, Fort Hamilton and Bay Ridge. Inland are the northwest half of Bensonhurst which covers the old New Utrecht, Borough Park and a portion of southern Midwood. Bay Ridge is the name of the old Yellow Hook and in its northwest corner is Owl's Head Park. This park is also named as the northern edge of *Turk's Plantation*.

TURK'S PLANTATION: ANTHONY's main property; named as *Old Bowery* and *Bruynnsberg* on 1787 map; runs along the coast from Coney Island to Bay Ridge, contains approximately 2880 acres (based on 6 x .75 mile area). ANTHONY sold it to NICHOLAS STILLWELL in 1660; STILLWELL sold it to FRANCOIS DE BRUYNNE in 1664 who renames it *Bruynnsberg*; after 6 months BRUYNNE sells "north half" to JAN JANSE VER RYNE. *TURK'S PLANTATION* traverses several neighborhoods, from north to south:

- ✦ **Bay Ridge:** formerly *Yellow Hook*; located as the northwest corner of New Utrecht and the northern boundary of *Turk's Plantation*; is approx 5 miles NW of Gravesend. The most northwestern point is in Owl's Head Park;
- ✦ **Fort Hamilton;**
- ✦ **Dyker Heights;**
- ✦ **Bensonhurst:** southern part; split between New Utrecht and Gravesend;
- ✦ **Ulmer Park:** northwest of Gravesend, southeast of Bensonhurst;
- ✦ **Bath Beach:** on north shore of Gravesend Bay, northwest of *Twelve Morgen*; contains the former villages of *Unionville* and *Guntherville*. This is where the ruins of the threshing room were found.



ANTHONY's missing 1639 patent is found dated as 1 August and 3 August. It seems that ANTHONY's request for a patent was dated 1 August and the patent itself was dated 3 August but may have included that it was retroactive to 1 August. What this patent covered was restated in the confirmatory patent of 27 May 1643. It is doubtful that it was the only patent ANTHONY obtained. There are frequent mistranslations in Dutch-to-English records which requires verification of the accuracy of any translation. The fact that the 1639 one is known to be missing indicates that there may be any number of similar documents that are also missing.

I contend that the 100 morgens in the 1643 patent did not include *Turk's Plantation* but was only for *Twelve Morgen* southwest of Gravesend, 87 morgens (174 acres) for the *Old Bouwery* encompassing the western half of Coney Island's 388 acres plus a 1 acre strip of land connecting the two. Strong support comes from a map dated 1787 showing the 3 tracts found in the 1643 patent which is reproduced herein. Support is also found in statements that ANTHONY's house was on the west side of the line that separates New Utrecht and Gravesend, now probably northwest of Bay Parkway near 86th. If this line is followed to Gravesend Bay you arrive at the Locust Grove area of Bath Beach where, in the 19th century, the walls and floor of ANTHONY's so-called threshing room were found. This location, now near Bensonhurst Park, is clearly NOT within the tracts described in 1643 patent.

The map on the previous page is from STOCKWELL's 1884 History of Gravesend in which he states that old maps show *Old Bouwery* covering Unionville (part of Bath Beach).¹ This statement is suspect because *none* of the numerous maps from the 17th and 18th centuries encountered by the author make any such statement. This statement also does not agree with the 1787 map which no historian found to date has acknowledged its existence.

CONYNE EYLANDT (CONEY ISLAND):



Before addressing the 1643 patent we must become familiar with the westernmost barrier islands of Long Island. In the middle of the 17th century there were 3 separate islands that would be joined to form the Coney Island of today. The map above is the result of the author's research and is the most logical version when trying to account for the widely varying descriptions. The most common depiction shows a large center island flanked by two smaller ones. The version above is consistent with most of the contemporary information available. At the same time it makes common mistakes quite apparent; the placing of Gysbert Island immediately west of Coney Island is done because ANTHONY described Gysbert as being west of Coney Island in 1661. First, it is west of Coney Island, just not immediately west and second, at that time, the name Coney Island included Jansen's Island despite its actual separateness. I have elected to use the name Jansen's Island though available information indicates this name was not applied until a couple decades after ANTHONY's time here. In fact it may have been named for his grandson BARENT JANSEN. Piney Island inlet was contemporary with the name Piney Island but exactly when these names were applied has yet to be found.

¹ A.P. Stockwell and William H. Stillwell, History of the Town of Gravesend, N.Y. and of Coney Island. (Brooklyn, NY: 1884)

Differences between maps are apparent just by comparing the ones in this Appendix. There are 4 maps – the 1883 facsimile of a map dated 1656 (previous page); the map above (done by author to represent 1660); an undated one, probably late 18th/early 19th century on the following page and the 1787 map made specifically for a lawsuit concerning ownership of land that had once belonged to ANTHONY JANSEN (last page of Appendix 4). The 1656 map is not well done and is wrong in certain depictions; is “Coney Island” separate from Long Island or not? If it is separate, then the lines must be creeks, but where is Sheepshead Bay? The second map drawn by the author is perfect in every way...well, not really. In 1660 the island named Jansen’s Island had a different name as that one did not come about for a few decades. The implication of having an inlet named Piney Island inlet is that Piney Island exists. Using the island and inlet names that are a matched set would be good. The late 18th/early 19th century map on the following page has some good points. It shows a Coney Island completely separate from Long Island. It correctly depicts Plumb Island rather than Plumb Beach and has the related Plumb Island inlet and not the incorrect Plumb Beach inlet. It has a good depiction of Barren Island before the Pelican Beach section, which is also shown, was separated from Barren Island and joined to Coney Island by land fill. The 1787 map contains only the westernmost section of the barrier islands that made up Coney Island. There are 4 different depictions of Coney Island on these 4 maps which is startling as the topography of the islands had changed little during the time covered by these 4 maps: 1656 – 1787. Coney Island is shown on the east in my map of 1660 while on the 1787 map, it is the small, westernmost island. The other two maps are inaccurate as the existing three islands are shown as one. The parts of the island as it is now that are between the bays is often found in old maps depicted as an extension of Long Island with flanking islands east and west. (See township map on first page of Appendix 4) What happened to Coney Island Creek is anyone’s guess (but it seems that NY Parks & Rec may know, see later mention). There were many different inlets over the centuries making it difficult to accurately portray at one specific time. They are depicted wrong on maps drawn 300 years ago; it is hardly surprising they continue to be drawn wrong. On



the map below is Plumb Island inlet between Coney Island and the Pelican Beach section of Barren Island. This inlet closed quickly, either by land fill or weather, while another opened up through Barren Island, however sources conflict over what happened first. If the Pelican Beach section separated first then calling it Pelican Island is correct. If Plumb Island inlet closed first then Pelican Beach never constituted a separate island. Just when Barren Island and its Pelican Beach extension existed and at what point did it come to represent the easternmost island of the 3 that made Coney Island are not known for certain but indications are that it was at least a century later. The combining of the 17th century 3-island genesis and the late 18th century presence of Barren Island off the eastern end of Coney Island and suddenly the easternmost island of the 3 that made up Coney Island must be the Pelican Beach section of Barren Island.

The 3 islands were true barrier islands as they were separated from Long Island by Coney Island Creek. The creek joined the heads of Gravesend and Sheepshead Bays but, as it was a tidal creek, the mudflats could be crossed at low tide in areas where the salt marshes didn't interfere. High tide submerged the mudflats and salt marshes with access being by boat. It seems that tides were higher overall through the winter as the locals are said to have pastured their livestock there without fear of the animals escaping to Long Island. The NY Department of Parks & Recreation has a completely different story about the Creek that is inconsistent with most written accounts. Their version has Coney Island looking pretty much as it does now – it is a peninsula but was made into an island when a canal was dug connecting a very short Creek with Sheepshead Bay. While there was a canal dug, its main purpose was to widen and straighten parts of the Creek that were not navigable.

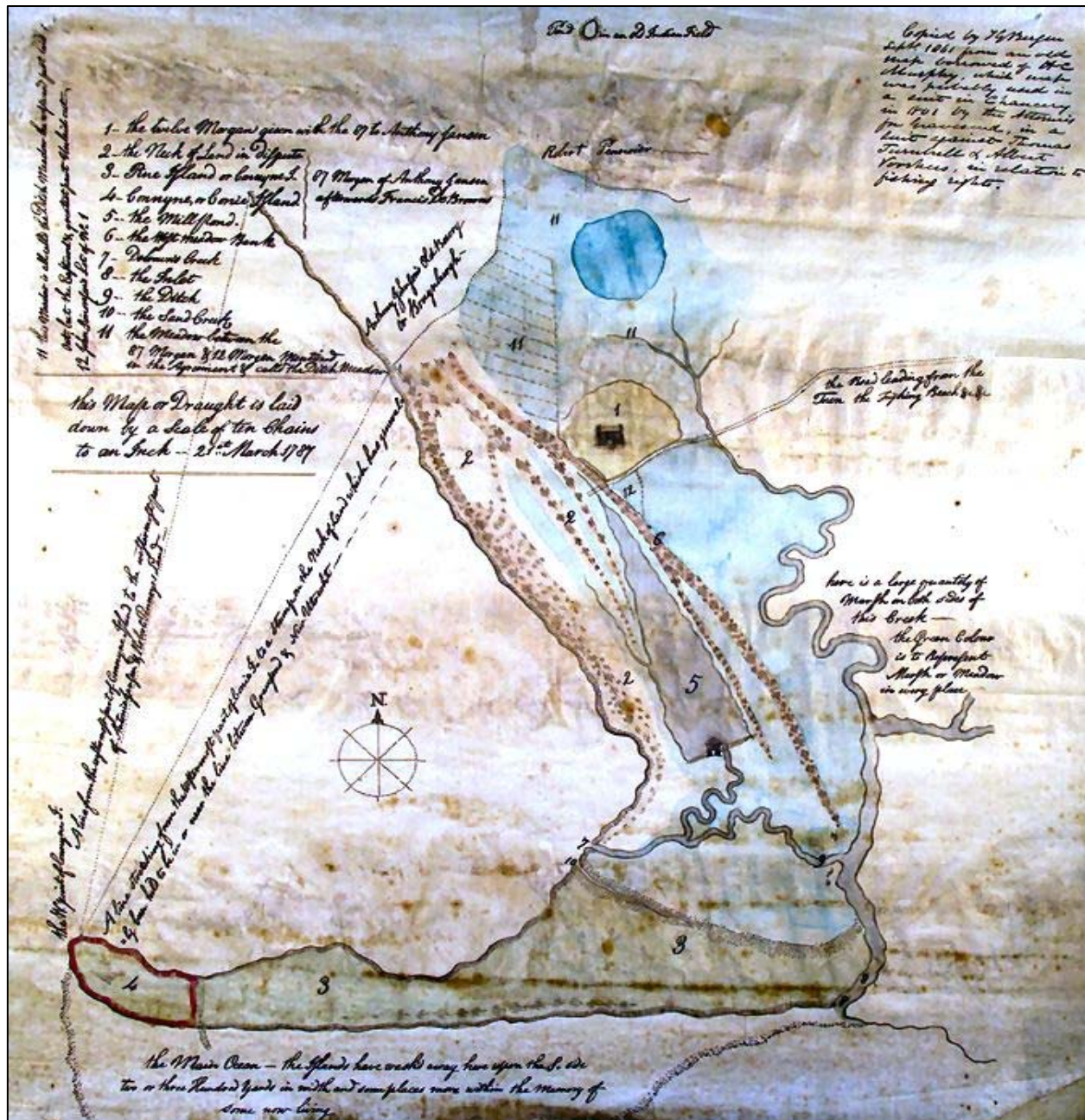
There was the strip of sand hills that connected *Twelve Morgen* to *Old Bouwery* but that was either blocked by fences or low-lying enough to be submerged in winter. This strip of sand hills later served as pasture and meadows. The creek silted up with a permanent, but narrow, connection to Long Island in place around 1800. This was gradually widened by land fill as needed until the 1930s. That was when most of the creek was permanently filled in and paved over; at the same time both bays were narrowed at their heads creating more land and smaller bays. There were also wide variations in the width of the islands; the 1787 map has a notation indicating that 200 to 300 yards, and more, of the south facing shore had washed away since 1740 or so. Marking out 100 acres in 1787 would take a significantly larger percentage of the island than it had in 1639.

There are many different descriptions of the 3 barrier islands, designated below as West, Middle and East with their separating inlet, either West or East; following a process of distillation and elimination, below is a relatively accurate list of the names in use around 1660.

West Island: **Gysbert Island** contained part of *Old Bouwery*; Coney Hook is found there;
West inlet: **Sandy Creek** separated Gysbert and Piney Islands and ran through *Old Bouwery*;
Middle Island: **Piney Island**, later Sedgebank Island, contained part of *Old Bouwery*; later purchase of all tillable 80 acres by WILLIAM and BARENT JANSEN, great-grandsons of ANTHONY are called Jansen's and Johnson's Island.
East inlet: **Piney Island Inlet**; filled in 1734.
East Island: **Coney Island**; largest of 3 accounting for about 75% of land of the 3-island combination.

The 1787 map below has, at number 1: *Twelve Morgen* “given with the 87 to ANTHONY JANSEN”; number 2 is “the Neck of land in dispute” which almost exactly matches the narrow strip of land found in the 1643 patent; number 3 is “Pine Island or Coney Island”; number 4 is “Connyne or Conie Island.” The name *87 morgens* is used instead of *Old Bouwery* and some of the land is on Pine Island (#3) and some on Coney Island (#4). Most exciting however is the notation “ANTHONY JANSEN’S Old Bouwery or Bruynburgh” above and to the left of *Twelve Morgen*.

Old Bouwery is usually describes the 87 morgen tract on Coney Island in the 1643 patent. On this map *Old Bouwery* is used in place of *Turk’s Plantation*. It was *Turk’s Plantation* that was renamed *Bruynnsberg* after NICHOLAS STILLWELL sold it to FRANCOIS DE BRUYNNE in 1664. Clearly this *Bruynnsberg* is NOT one of the tracts in the 1643 patent!



Wow!

What a story!

Let's see, there's

JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM: the Amsterdam linen merchants' son, who grows up to become the Admiral of the Moroccan Navy?!? With his own kasbah built expressly for him on the orders of the Sultan – and it's still there, more-or-less. How many people do you know that can say: "One of my ancestors' homes is a 400-year-old Moroccan kasbah that sits on a bluff overlooking the Atlantic Ocean."? (Actually there's plenty who can say it, they just don't know it!)



And his son **ANTHONY JANSEN VAN SALEE** – one of the founders of New York City! Sure wish his property stayed in the family a bit longer. In fact, one writer made a point of saying that, of all the early inhabitants, it appears that the Jansen family can be counted among the minority of people whose descendants did not profit from the early land investments – darn it! Some of the descendants of the inhabitants that did profit are still filing lawsuits in the New York courts to establish their claim to property or the value of it. Imagine what a windfall would be realized if it turns out that Anthony's property was never sold! It could happen – remember there has been no record found that transferred the Manhattan property out of the family, only records going back a couple of centuries documenting the change of ownership to a certain point in time. The specifics of what transpired regarding ownership are not known for the period between 1710 and 1750, or thereabout. *Who knows – we may be America's next millionaires!*

Where to next year? A history of our ancestors from the islands.

"What islands?" you ask.

.... Good question.